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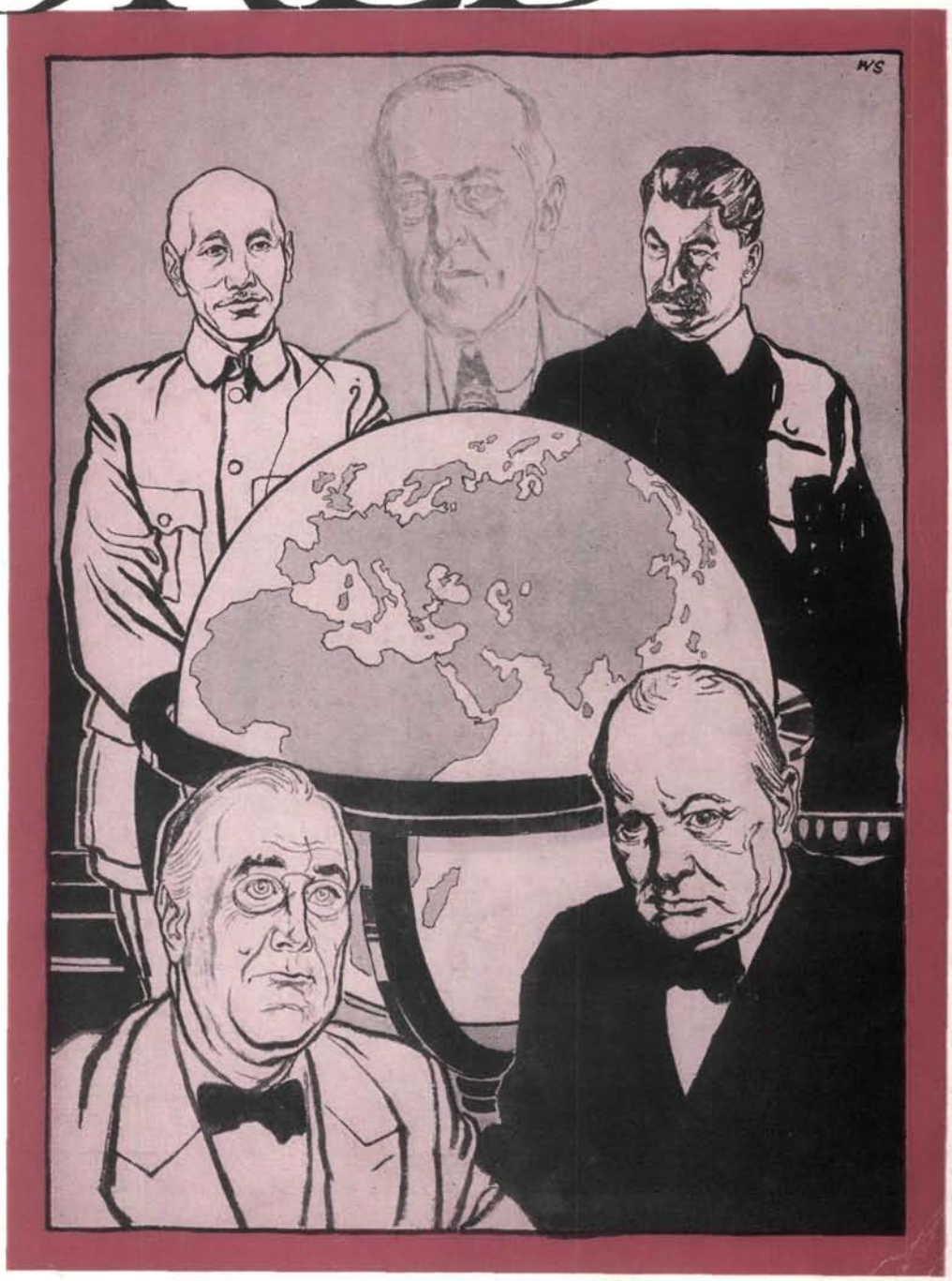

EPTEMBER 1944

A
ONEY PLAN
FOR
ORLD PEACE
AND
PLENTY

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AND
OBOT MINDS

The Road to Peace
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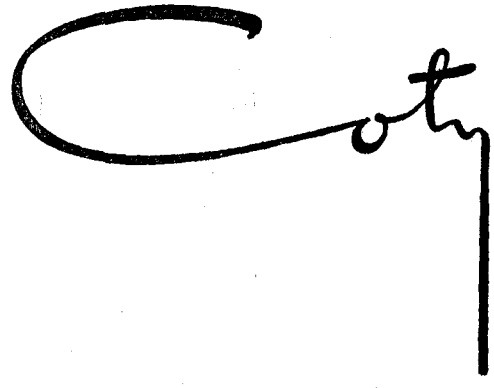

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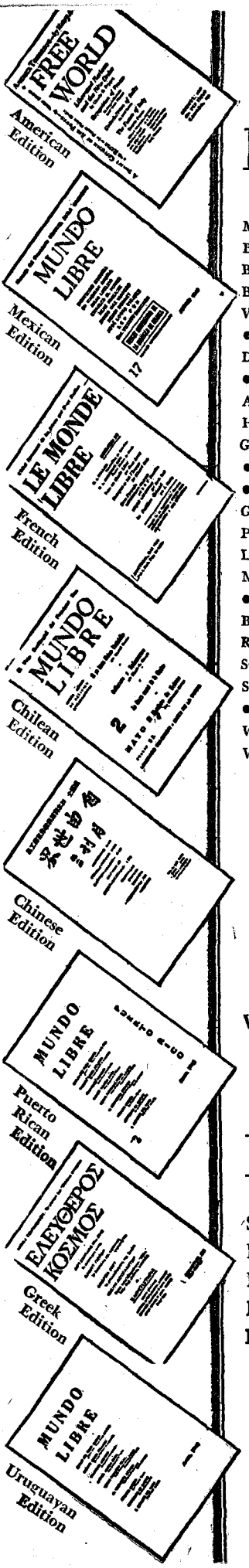

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WITH OUR HANDS

In the after months
When those who sailed and cursed and bled
For the deep peace of home
And the homecoming—
When these once more are among us,
Probing with silent eyes
Into our conceits and deceits,
Questioning with lips that shape no words—
Let us reply with our hands.
Let us hold our hands, revealing
Quietly, without words,
The many marks of our labor.
They will understand.
Only the eloquence of the unscarred
Will defeat them.

Kathleen Sutton

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EDITORIALS

American Leadership in '44

THE interests of the small farmer and the small businessman, to say nothing of the enormous tasks of international organization, must be entrusted to a more catholic guardianship than that of Labor. The rights of the common man and the fullness thereof can be claimed for him only by a popular movement, recruiting the whole vigor of progressive labor but not dominated by its personnel. Such a movement (except as the P.A.C. has undertaken its responsibilities) is scarcely visible on the American scene. If there were any claim to its vital existence, Henry Wallace would not have been defeated at the Democratic Convention.

The liberal press has sought to comfort its readers with HarryTruman's voting record. Indeed, the scotching of such dubious suggestions as Jimmy Byrnes for the Vice-Presidency is a wholesome enough liberal victory, a victory which must be credited to the Political Action Committee and marked down as a triumph for organized labor. The blame for the defeat of Wallace, however, must be partially acknowledged by organized liberalism. At the Democratic Convention, the strategy of Wallace's direct support, independent of the P.A.C., was mostly unprofessional—always excepting the heroic efforts of a few able men like Senators Guffey and Pepper. That clumsiness is symptomatic and ominous. It must be remembered that the Wallace supporters were, in fact, the representatives in Chicago of the liberal viewpoint. Their lack of organization, their considerable dependence on progressive labor, reflects the whole condition of American liberalism.

What of our leadership?

The suggestion that Roosevelt abandoned Wallace because the Vice-President's progressive dauntlessness discomfited the President is absurd, or at least ungenerous. But it's true that if Wallace has behaved throughout his term of office as though he didn't care if he were renominated or not, it's just as obvious that Roosevelt is careful—jealously, tirelessly careful of his Presidency. This is a wise care, a politically skillful care, and we are grateful for it.

But there is something to thank God for in the spirit of Henry Wallace. We can only regret that each of these great men has not a little of the other's greatness. They were a wonderful team. If Roosevelt were even braver in behalf of principle, and if Wallace had mastered only a little more of the tricky craft of politics, perhaps the team would not have broken up. What is missing in each of them is just exactly what was needed to beat Wallace's

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enemies. Roosevelt's caution at least proves he hasn't forgotten that these enemies are covertly, but even more passionately, his enemies as well.

It may be guessed that the mood of Wallace's fine, very plain Convention speech was the certainty of defeat; he may have been speaking only for the record. But Wallace, and we who have failed Wallace, must recognize that it is no longer enough for liberalism to go on the record.

Practical politicians have always held failure professionally unforgiveable. The bravery of Wallace's last speech in Chicago had more meaning than Willkie's gamble in Wisconsin, but politically it doesn't seem to have been very much more wisely considered. Both men functioned within the framework of their political parties, both were at war with their party machines and party bosses, and both were disastrously reckless in that warfare.

The liberal movement cannot afford the political failures Willkie and Wallace were guilty of this year.

That sort of failure, at least, is not a Roosevelt weakness. But his political caution is not a lucky instinct when it dilutes the courage of his statesmanship.

Surely it would not have cost the President renomination if he had spoken out as did the Vice-President at the Chicago Convention. He could have afforded some part of that politically outrageous candor. It's clear he avoided it to avoid splitting the party; and while the supposition is fanciful enough, a forthright statement of liberal principles from Roosevelt at that time would have laid the foundations for the liberal party whose emergence is generally expected after his retirement.

It is Roosevelt's historic opportunity to found that liberal party. If he had stood clear of the Democratic bosses and openly defied the dirty banner of White Supremacy at the Convention, it's true he might have seriously handicapped his chances for reelection, but he would still have kept votes enough to give a liberal party such a fair and hopeful start as it's not likely to enjoy four years hence, or eight years hence—a start no power on earth could finally stop.

It must be admitted that no matter how convinced we are that he stands elsewhere, Roosevelt is presently visiting the moral side of conservatism. He knows better than any of us what will win an election and what will lose it. That's true. But it's also true that only Roosevelt knows what percentage of safety he requires. When he abandoned Henry Wallace we were not discouraged in our suspicion that the percentage required is very large.

FREE WORLD is certain that if the liberal opinion remains a mere minority vote, democracy is doomed. Henry Wallace is the particular prophet of that opinion. We expect to hear more from him. He is no day-dreaming theorist. His thoughts are often expressed with poetic intensity, but he has common sense in the full measure of his sensitivity. Read what he's written,

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examine well what he stands for. It is there to see that he is always more responsible than romantic. Indeed, as a diplomatist, he has even proven himself capable of the most imaginative tact. He was triumphantly successful in Latin-America and in China. And they were not easy missions.

Henry Wallace himself is proof that the aspirations of a great mass of the American people are broadly progressive. He is no accident. He is the spokesman and also the product of progressive sentiment, and the new significance he has given to the institution of the Vice-Presidency is due not only to the size of Henry Wallace as a man, but to the size of the opinion responsible for his existence. The future offers him a great place, and Henry Wallace is man enough for any place in history. There remains only the question of whether he is politician enough to make it. When the news came to him that Truman got the nomination, he expressed a kind of rueful relief. He was glad to be free, he said. He thought he could accomplish more that way. We hope he's right.

How then stands progressive leadership in 1944?

Mr. Willkie's party has all but excommunicated him for his outspoken progressiveness, and Dewey's nomination was easily agreed upon because no matter how highly the character of his statesmanship may be esteemed—or estimated—it is certainly not to be praised for those qualities which rendered Willkie embarrassing to a staunchly conservative party.

The Willkie of "One World" must be heard from again.

The Roosevelt of the Atlantic Charter must be heard from again.

The President remains, in spite of everything, the beloved liberal of the world, but his popularity at home seems to be all that holds together the left and right wings of the Democratic party, and his liberalism is in strategic hibernation.

We have always protested Roosevelt's policies, both foreign and domestic, when we have found them in disagreement with our principles. We now recognize that the Roosevelt persuasiveness may be bulwark enough against Republican Toryism, but we affirm that more is called for today from the leader of the American democracy. We expect that more will be forthcoming. We do not hesitate to go on record that American progressives in this election have no choice but Roosevelt.

Most progressives remain Roosevelt partisans even though few among them have forgiven his cheerful scuttling of Dr. New Deal, for just as few have forgotten that he was their most effective champion. They will vote for him again because of what he's done in their behalf, and for his great capacities, the first of which is his capacity for success. They will vote for him in the decent hope of what he may accomplish for democracy in the world in four more years.

ORSON WELLES

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"The Slow Road to Peace"

THE success of our second invasion of France and the complete collapse of the fiction of a Hitler fortress on the continent brings us close to curtain time.

The speed with which we are approaching victory over the Nazis makes it possible to discern with more clarity than ever the outlines of the peace which is to follow.

Though the conflagration still blazes and may go on blazing even more fiercely as it approaches the climax, the minds of responsible leadership turn to preparation of the plans for the world's security—the very essence of the goal we are fighting to achieve.

In the quiet and seclusion of Dumbarton Oaks, not very far from the Pentagon Building, where the war gets its direction, a group of peace-makers will be thinking and working earnestly and with a purpose. The meeting bears the stodgy and ponderous title of "The Conference on Security Organization For Peace in the Postwar World" but in simpler terms it may be described as a vital laboratory where the problem of how to prevent war in the future will be hammered out with all the urgency of an emergency operation.

By this time the meeting and its agenda will have been widely covered in the general press reports. Out of a variety of views and attitudes we see one vital, overall principle emerging from these talks, namely, the principle accenting the responsibility of the Four Big Powers for the enforcement of peace. This is to be the "Executive Authority" in the new security league —or whatever else it may be called—and would be vested in the signatories of the Moscow Declaration, the United States, Britain, Russia and China.

The plan would also create an assembly of all the peace-loving powers of the world, but while the small powers would be given several seats on the executive council or "directive organ" of the new league, they would not be given the right to veto any proposed actions in the assembly.

The Russian views were broadly outlined in an article which appeared in the magazine *The Star* of Leningrad. It advocated an international air force as being infinitely more effective, for technical and logistic reasons, than an international police force.

It is noteworthy that Soviet thought for a long time has been inspired by a sort of preventive statesmanship and for that reason we have seen their peace plans underlined, less by the advocacy of slow processes of persuasion and reason and more by vigorous speedy methods of procedure. The plan exposed by M. Malinin in *The Star* is only one of many forceful ideas advanced by the Russians. Another writer of even greater authority than Malinin, Boris Stein, a diplomat who frequently represented the Soviets in Geneva, recently wrote in the *Historical Journal* that Russians had long ago come to the conclusion that the Covenant of the League of Nations was a completely emasculated affair with insufficient power, not only to stop

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aggression, but containing so many loopholes that an aggressor nation could even use it to make war. Stein pointed out that the Russians had finally arrived at the conclusion that only a close collaboration of the *"large powers"* waging war now was capable of preventing new aggressions.

While there is no quarrel with this conception, FREE WORLD has always maintained that the unity of the Four Great Powers be consolidated and that collaboration between them follow the pattern of the Anglo-Soviet twenty years' agreement. This, as we know, calls among other things for a continuity of effort to preserve the peace after the present hostilities. At the same time, we believe that all the members of the United Nations must be drawn into this association. There must be a unanimous view and a general agreement. We must bear in mind that inherent nationalisms, sectional jealousies, and sensitive sovereignties must not be provoked by an attitude of exclusion. If discussion of the future is kept dispassionate, the case for continued close association between the members of the Grand Alliance after the war is overwhelmingly clear.

The program which will be drawn at Dumbarton Oaks will probably aim at the minimum that would obtain the object of restraining war and no attempt may be made to lay down details or provide methods of procedure. This must be determined by the representatives of the nations concerned when they meet in the larger conference, which FREE WORLD hopes will be convoked at the earliest possible moment.

We hope, too, that the approach to the agreement will be thoroughly non-partisan. As Cordell Hull has said repeatedly, American participation in a postwar peace set-up, with force, is second in importance only to the winning of the war. It is therefore regrettable to note the clamor of the Republican presidential candidate at what he calls "world domination." This is the danger, that in countries governed by election and free discussion, men's emotions and passions become so engaged over internal struggles that international relations become a function of domestic politics. Men arise whose interest in the foreign scene is to draw ammunition from it against a domestic opponent.

The single question is whether in the future peaceful nations are willing to act together, and in time, against an aggressor. If they are, discussions about the machinery of cooperation should give us little trouble.

But in order that the compulsion may be effective, the method of enforcement must be certain, and sufficient for the purpose. In the terrible face of war there is no use in shaking the rattle of an unarmed watchman or in convening councils that talk and will not act. The object is not to consult about the punishment of an offender, but to prepare a deterrent that will prevent the offense. The delinquent who contemplates a breach of the peace must know that retribution will be certain, instant, and irresistible. Such a deterrent can be provided only if it is known that the great nations will use forthwith all their powers, moral, economic, and military, to enforce peace.

BURNET HERSHEY

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Allied Generalship Outsmarts HITLER

by
Herbert Corey

GERMANY is within a gunshot of defeat as these words are being written. It is possible—perhaps not probable but certainly possible—that the German armies will have crumpled before they appear in print.

The armies can only be saved by a miracle and there are no more miracles in war than in arithmetic.

If the Army goes, the Nazi party will go with it. It may go underground. But the Reichswehr will be on its heels. They are as antagonistic as strange dogs. They are professional and congenital enemies. There will be a struggle to see which will shape Germany for the Third War.

The Russians bled the army, of course. Their magnificent performance is known to everyone.

But an examination of the Allied operations in Normandy, in Brittany and now in Southern France may disclose the reasons why the final act in the most insane war in the world's history is at hand.

The Allies, to put it bluntly, fooled their enemy.

The Germans have always relied in war on power and speed. At the beginning of the 1944 fighting in France they had the power. This need not be doubted. They had it. They were in good defensive positions. They were well provided with the munitions of war. They had all the men they needed on the western front. The Allies had an immense fleet of bombers, and they were admittedly short of offensive airpower, but it has been demonstrated that positions can be held under the most concentrated bombing. Men who by the rules of logic should be dead pop out of holes in the ground with their machine guns. Concrete strong points may be chipped but too many of them hold together. Back of their lines they were served by convenient networks of roads. They did not have all of everything they would like, but they had enough. Some one in Germany—Hitler or Goebbels or another—boasted that the Allies could never break through if they dared an invasion.

That Nazi spokesman was perfectly right if power were to be set against power and speed against speed.

The Allies could never have broken through if they had played the game in the classic fashion. The defenses were impregnable. The Germans had plenty of men. They had more power than they needed, everywhere along the coast line, and the speed behind the lines for the necessary supplying and shifting. There is no longer any reason why these facts should be concealed. The Allies had greater potential force than the Germans on the western front, but the Germans were confident that this force could not be effectively applied. The disastrous affair at Dieppe was regarded as an insurance. An invasion on a small scale would be a folly. On a large scale it would be impossible.

Checkmate.

The Allies had more power along the Channel coast, but no way to make use of it, according to the perfectly well founded

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German view. They had plenty of speed and no place to sell it. An invasion was impossible. Correct by every reasoning. In the east it had been necessary to shorten the German lines. This was an injury to German pride, but the Russian lines of communication were growing inconveniently long. Soon the force of the Russian drive would slacken. A contained enemy in the west and a tired enemy in the east must in the end make an unwilling peace. The German profit by the war would not be so great as had been hoped, but that could be made up in the next war. Norway, Denmark, Finland, the Balkans, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, a weakened, unresistant France—

A very satisfactory bag from the shooting party.

Allied View Different

THAT was the situation as seen through German eyes on the day before the invasion. On our side we do not see it in quite the same light, for we have not credited Germany with all the favorable factors. The nation is stubbornly courageous, it was bound together by the Nazis so that no element of dissension appeared to the world —and this fact is not impaired by our deprecation of Nazi methods—it was well fed and munitioned. We have listened to the stray Karls and Kurts who promise that Germany will explode, but the Germans have heard the Gestapo. The Germans had not won the war on the day before the invasion. But they had not lost it.

Allied generalship played a joker.

To the power and speed they possessed they added deception.

Russia painted in the background. It was made clear that Russia was dissatisfied with the quality and quantity of the Allied efforts. Russia indicated her doubt that the Allies would make more than a token invasion. Churchill added his dab of color. He told the House of Commons that the Anglo-Americans would preface their certain invasion with many ruses and stratagems. The Germans could not be certain whether that was a straightforward statement of intention or an effort to deceive the supermen. Nighttime activities in the Channel were no longer regarded as routine operations but set the alarm bells ringing along the coast. Minesweepers methodically swept up the German mines. If they had confined their efforts to a narrow area the Germans could have been certain that (A) an attack would come and (B) where it would be located. But the sweepers plodded along the entire coast with their brooms, like the old women at the Piccadilly crossings. Acidulous little raids were reported in many places. Rangers and Commandos had a way of getting in by night, killing a few Germans, tearing down some wires, and getting out again. It was evident they were gathering information.

But for what? And when? And where?

When the Allies finally landed it was with by comparison pitifully small forces. But they were in sufficient number to get through the beach defenses and up the bluffs to the plateau. The Germans had men enough on the French coast to have seized each Anglo-American soldier by the arms and drowned him in the sea. But the Germans were scattered along the coast. The initial invasion seemed so absurdly weak that it was evident to the German mind that the big push would be somewhere else. Any German knew that the invading force could not be sustained unless it held at least one port. The waters of the Cherbourg harbor were filled with an intricate pattern of mines. No hostile fleet could get through them.

In this the Germans were right, as they were in most of their reasoning. No hostile fleet could have gotten into Cherbourg harbor.

But the Americans and English landed on the beaches. This was demonstrably all wrong. But it worked.

There were truck roads and railroads behind the German lines. The German power was available, and the German speed. The Germans may have lacked some of the gasoline they would have liked to have, but events have shown that they had all the gasoline they needed. They could have rushed enough man-and-gunpower to the threatened point to have literally blasted the invaders back into the sea. But they could not be sure. Rockets were seen at other spots along the Channel. Allied planes examined these other spots. Sudden storms of bombs fell where other land-

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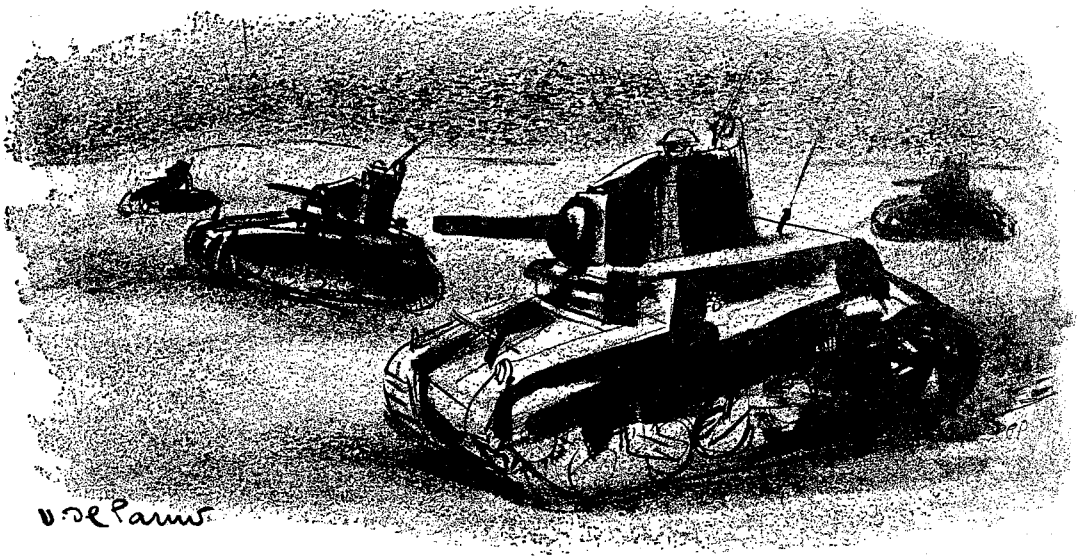

ings might have been made. Churchill twice warned fishermen away from certain areas. The English are a humane race, but ach, such dumkopfs. It was evident that other landings were to be attempted. One of these landings would undoubtedly be the landing in force. This affair on the Normandy beach was only a feint in force. The robot bombs were suddenly turned on from the Pas de Calais. Perhaps the robot installations had been established along the Pas de Calais for use against the invading forces. The coast had been heavily protected. Perhaps the robot storm was ordered in the hope that the suffering of English civilians would ensure the diversion of Anglo-American force to Pas de Calais and so relieve the pressure on other threatened areas. If that were the German hope it flashed out. The Pas de Calais area was nicely bombed. But so were other areas. The German front was pounded. No German could say with assurance that another invasion might not be attempted at another place, nor how formidable it might prove to be.

Nazis Had Power

THE Nazis were confused and shaken. In the early days of the invasion—this is repeated for emphasis—they had all the man-and-gunpower they needed to smash the invading forces.

But they dared not risk using it.

There was once a pugilist named Kid McCoy. In his prime he was fast and clever and had a punch like an axe. There is a story that on one occasion the tormented Goliath who was in the ring with him quit in the middle of a round and returned to his corner and leaned on the ropes and cried. He said he was fighting too many McCoys.

The Anglo-American beachhead was firmly established. The port of Cherbourg had been taken. The business of cleaning out mines and obstructions seemed interminable and the landing of men and supplies was continued on the beaches. This would have been interfered with except for the success of the weary months spent in destroying German airpower. The Luftwaffe had not been wholly smashed, but it had been so crippled that it could no longer meet the Allies on even terms in the air. The Luftwaffe fought well. Its machines are good and its pilots are excellent, although some of them have not been thoroughly seasoned. Until the Allies had established airfields and depots in Normandy the Germans gave a good account of themselves.

It is sheer nonsense to decry the quality of the German soldier. It is true that as the German manpower is depleted the ranks are being padded by "culls." They are useful, even if they are not even second rate material. But the prime German soldier is a tough, resourceful, and well trained fighting man, in all branches of the service. He not only holds his place

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as long as it is humanly possible but he forces the culls to hold with him. Unfortunately for the German the war in France is not being fought along the lines he had pre-ordained. Instead of man against man, mass against mass, the German was being blinded. This might be considered the second phase of the campaign of deception. The German observation planes were literally blasted out of the air. Their communications were torn to pieces.

They could not find out what was going on.

In a campaign fought along conventional lines troops and matériel can be moved in the daytime. A road filled with men and vehicles may be attacked by enemy flyers, but will be defended by the airforce. When that defense becomes impossible the men and guns and trucks must be moved by night, all lights out, stumbling into ditches, reading maps by flashlights hidden under blouses and blankets. The movement must not be started until darkness has come and everything must be as well hidden as possible before dawn. The power and speed on which the Germans had relied are lessened and checked. They march at night and fight by day. They are hardy and stubborn men but this kind of thing lessens their resisting power. Thousands of prisoners have been taken who, literally, did not have anything left. Many of them have not lost hope or courage. But they were worn out.

The Anglo-Americans were able to move by day. They were to all intents free of observation. They could see just where the foe is, where he has been, and where he will probably be tomorrow morning. Give a poker player the liberties of a kibitzer and he becomes invincible.

The breakthrough came when Avranches was taken. Up to this all had been preliminary.

Surprise for Nazis

THE rapid build-up had surprised the Germans. Not only had they never been thoroughly convinced that the beach landing was the authentic main effort, but they did not think the Allies could get the men and matériel over in such quantities and such speed. At this point the "duck" becomes one of the features of the invasion. These sea-going trucks landed their loads and waddled up the sand by the hundreds. The 1944 operation was unquestionably the greatest amphibious effort in military history. A repetition of the thousands of tons and men landed would be the mere statement of an incredibility, even if the facts were passed by the censor. The ducks did it. They got wounded men back to England—rather they made it possible to get them back—before the first-aid dressings needed changing. There was some totally fatuous criticism that operations in Normandy were slow and uncertain. If there had been observers of The Creation on the sidelines they would certainly have complained that the job had not been completed on the third day. The ducks brought in the replacements as they were needed—

Not much may be said about this at this time. Except that the gaps in the ranks were filled with fresh men. In previous wars the green hand was not considered a real soldier until he had been "blooded" and shot over. The theory is still a good one, but in this war the American has been so thoroughly trained and hardened that he is almost a veteran the day he steps into the duck. As a replacement he meets his own people, who have had enough live experience to correct his nervousness—or much of it—and show him his way about. The report on American soldier quality is without a dissent. The effect of the replacement routine is that the American regiments are in effect made up of veterans who are neither tired nor bored—and veterans can be bored as any one of them will tell you. A few days in line of battle will fatigue the incomers, of course, just as the veterans are fatigued. But compared to regiments who have been at it for months and years they are fresh as paint.

After the capture of Cherbourg the Allies turned south. They worked their way through the toughest terrain imaginable. They needed more ports for the landing of men and supplies. They needed elbow room so they might get their armor free. They had encountered the hedgerows of which so much has been written and lakes and upset country and swamps and twisting country roads. The Germans held

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their posts as long as possible. They withdrew their main forces under the protection of rearguards who often—actually—fought to the last man. They resorted to the tricks and devices which have made them detested by the Americans, who are as a whole good natured men who regard war as an unpleasant business and are not very angry about it. But the Germans kill as long as they can and then come out with their hands up and grinning. The G I thinks this is not straight. The Germans fought desperately to hold Brest and Lorient and St. Malo because they knew how badly we needed the ports. But their cohesion had been destroyed.

So we were able to bypass strong points and get on with the business. The air force in some cases led the German advance. They kept observers out of the air and bunged up their leading columns. Truck-drivers have been reported as bumping thoughtlessly into the enemy's retreating rear. Two G I's on a scouting mission sat behind trees and watched a German division settle down for the night. On their way back to report this incident they thumbed a ride from two sergeants in a jeep. Anglo-American observers in the air were able to outline corridors on the maps which were free of Germans. One, at least, was 20 miles wide. It offered a nice hole through which to drive a wedge. German observation was so weak and sporadic—observers dived like barnswallows at the sight of Allied planes—that our strong points were often reported as weak. Our observers often flew as unconcernedly as though they were puddle-jumping at home.

The landing of French and Americans in Southern France is further proof that the Allied generalship has outsmarted Hitler.

A Blindfolded Enemy

THIS is not a report on German weakness. Merely on German confusion. And on the bandages our flyers had tied on German eyes.

The strategy and tactics of war are just what they were in Julius Caesar's time, but some of the details have changed. Tanks have replaced horse cavalry. Planes have supplemented artillery to some extent, and the scout. Speed has been multiplied. The

principles are unchanging. The German officers are thoroughly trained in these principles. If a given result is certain when A encounters B, a different one will follow the collision of A and BY. The Germans were disgruntled by events in Russia which followed their obedience to insane orders. There is not much sound reason for thinking, however, that they were prepared to lead a rebellion against Hitler until their west front cracked. A rebellion means civil war. Ordinarily the officer caste would support the government against any rebel.

In August of 1918 Ludendorff knew the Germans had lost the war. But he quite decorously bade farewell to the Kaiser when he entrained for Doorn. Ludendorff and the officer caste were simply trying to make their future positions safe. War-making is Germany's preferred way of life and the war-makers are its leaders. They go to war when they see an opportunity for profit. If they see they have no chance to win they make the best terms they can. It is an emotional, practical, business-like plan which has been proven excellent by history. But when the Army was fooled and blinded in Normandy in 1944 they realized that conditions had changed.

If they won the war it would be for Hitler and the Nazi party. They blame Hitler for insane orders that cost the Army thousands of lives.

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If they lost it would be the officer caste and the Junkers who would lose. If Hitler could make peace he'd have no more of them.

They realized the war was irrevocably lost when the Anglo-Americans won a beachhead in Normandy, which soon became a warhead. Their only hope for themselves was to get rid of Hitler and wipe out the Nazis. They might be able to make some kind of a peace with the Allies, and they were sure that Hitler would not. It is only a guess as yet, but it is a reasonably good guess that when the Allies took Cherbourg they touched off the spark that led to an explosion in Hitler's private room in Germany. Another fairly good guess is that there will be another explosion in the same quarters one of these days. Hitler dare not yield control to the Reichswehr, for he knows that no mercy would be shown the Nazi chiefs who have never shown any mercy. They are getting rid of the Army chiefs they fear as rapidly as possible.

They dare not do anything else. Put any label you wish on that state of affairs and it is still civil war, 1944 style. And on the result hangs the date of the end of the war. No one in a responsible position can more than guess that the end will come soon. That same "no one" sees no reason to think that internal strife will rend Germany. The people, according to the best available information as this is written, are docile, loyal, and completely under the rule of Hitler and the Black Shirts and the Gestapo. There is literally no hope that any insurrection can get under way, for that would imply organization, and there can be no anti-Nazi organization in Germany. The Reichswehr chiefs would make peace if they could—if available information may be relied on—both to make themselves safe and to get rid of the Nazi organization. The Nazis dare not make peace, for the Reichswehr would clean them up even before the victorious Allies could get at them.

Cracks in the "Fortress"

BUT the end of the war may come at any moment, in defiance of what has just been stated. There are indications that the whole poisonous structure is collapsing. The satellite states are shaking. The patriots in the subjected territories are daring to resist. There is 1918-20 precedent to support the suggestion that the next development may be the sloughing away of organizations from the Reichswehr to enter upon banditti operations of their own. That took place in Russia and through Central Europe after the First War came to its miserable but temporary end. Spain might welcome a trained and equipped army of mercenaries. Italy might be in the market. There is wide grazing ground in the Balkans. If these suggestions seem absurd it may be said that they are at least being looked at by professional pessimists. A military victory over the German armies in the field, followed by the crushing of the Nazi power in Germany, might make possible a return to some form of European order. But if the Reichswehr and the Nazis cannot get together long enough to agree to surrender unconditionally,—and the best guess obtainable at this time is that the Army will either dissolve or surrender and leave the Nazis to fight it out by themselves,—then anything may happen.

Whatever does happen will have been shaped and focused by what has been done in Normandy. The end—the final, documented, formal end—may be postponed for a few weeks. But it is as plain to the eye as a thunderstorm. The Germans had power and speed. But, to quote from several million Americans, the Allies outsmarted them.

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Progress of the Struggle

by NORMAN ANGELL

ROBOT BOMBS AND ROBOT MINDS

TWO or three developments of the last month or so—one in the field of military technology, others in the field of military politics, but all are in some measure related—have been matters of great discussion.

The first is the development of the robot bomb. It is most unlikely to alter the course of the war, but it gives dark warning of what war might become. It is a sort of forecast of the fulfilment of Samuel Butler's prediction that ultimately the machines which man had made would turn round and destroy him. It may become literally so. We say commonly that every weapon has always managed to find its countervailing reply; but if the reply is for future cities to be built some hundreds of feet underground, the remedy may be as bad as the disease. Moreover, a flying bomb attack can be sustained day and night alike irrespective of weather. It eliminates the human element; its "pilots" do not need sleep or rest; require no training; need possess no courage; it cannot be turned back by ack-ack and if struck by ack-ack is just as apt (as Mr. Richard Tobin discussing the matter remarks) to fall and explode on the ack-ack gunner as anywhere else. Its construction can be arranged for in relative secrecy, its parts made in many places and ostensibly for other purposes; and assembled, launched from underground so that destruction of the bases becomes exceedingly difficult.

Of course, both sides can use the weapon, which means that each could destroy the other, with immense margin of advantage to the side which gets its blow in first. As one commentator points out, the wars of the future may be decided, not in five years but in five days or even in five hours' time.

In the form in which we know them the robot bombs are of course a mere beginning. The London experience is just a foretaste of what the 10 ton, or 100 ton rocket shell of the future, traveling through the stratosphere, has in store. Add to this the possibility of explosives based on the release of atomic energy (which reputable physicists have declared to be perhaps round the corner) and one can see that the stratospheric robot bombing of a New York or a Chicago into so much bloody rubble is something more than a possibility of the future.

Of course this development is going to affect the peace making. Every one of these developments makes geography, regional considerations, of less and less importance. It is no longer a Wellsian fantasy to foresee the time when robot or rocket bombs, traveling through the stratosphere, can be launched from almost any spot on the earth to any other spot, delivering loads of explosives which can destroy all life within a radius of several miles.

To prevent this will demand a world power not necessarily exercising every function of government but at least this one: the prevention of violence of the kind and scale of which London is at this moment getting a foretaste.

The robots may at least do this: they may help us to see that first things must be put first; the first things being the prevention of any repetition of the story of Warsaw, Amsterdam, London, Coventry.

The first thing may not be the greatest thing. A country's police is not its greatest glory. But no country which failed to establish some form of police, so that the

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gangsters were normally controlled, could ever look forward to achieving real glory of any kind.

THE problem of course is not the creation of a central power; it is to see that the power is not abused, does not itself become the enemy of freedom; that its function is limited to the prevention of violence. In other words, before we can learn to control the robot bomb we must learn how to control the human mind, its fallacies, blind spots, the passions which arise out of nationalism and doctrinal fanaticisms.

We speak commonly as though it sufficed to take power from the hands of the Germans and Japanese and give it into the hands of the British, the Americans, Russians, French, Africans, Chinese, Irish, Indians, Arabs, Jews; that these latter could never disagree as to the use of power, never abuse it. Which means that we take over, holus-bolus the "superiority" doctrine of the Nazis, except that we become the superior people and they the inferior. All of which of course is nonsense. Biologically—in blood, glands, hormones, gray matter, muscular tissue—we are exactly like the Germans. The difference is in certain ideas which, for reasons we do not know much about, infected them more than their immediate neighbors. Education and "learning" did not protect them against the infection, for the Germans are among the most learned, the most scientific people in the world, having produced great philosophers, musicians, religious teachers, from Luther to Karl Marx; and very brave and efficient soldiers.

The supreme failure of the German people as a whole—and this is perhaps the significant lesson of the whole nazi phenomenon—is the failure to control their own criminal minorities. To say that the German people as a whole have no responsibility for the crimes of the Nazis means that they did not know how to control the criminals. Such an excuse indicts the German people as incapable of the first function of civilized government, which is precisely to restrain criminal violence. If we had learned that Mr. Al Capone had taken possession of the White House and was running the country, we should say truly that the fact constituted a dreadful reflection on the character of the American people.

But if we bring this charge with justice, as we must against the German people, it is incumbent on us to face the fact that as nations we have been guilty, in our international relationships, of a similar failure, a similar incapacity to restrain criminal violence in international affairs. The power of Germany and Japan represented a quite small fraction of the civilized world. Had their victims—thirty-four (at present) United Nations—been capable of uniting for mutual defense, the aggressors would never have been tempted to commit aggression, and if they tried would have been promptly stopped. But the non-German non-Japanese world did not have that capacity for unity. It had sufficient potential power to defend itself; it could not unite for the use of that power for common defense. Will it be able to unite to make impossible the use of a perfected robot bomb? To banish its terrors from mankind?

IN a good many quarters of late it has been suggested that little is to be gained, and a great deal, including many lives lost, by continuing to allow Dr. Goebbels to use the term "unconditional surrender" in the way which best suits his purposes and not ours.

Of late there has been circulating in Germany a story pretty much along these lines: Not only has Stalin demanded that after defeat of Germany some five million young Germans are to be shipped to Russia for ten years of forced labor, slavery; but that the French and the British have decided to carry out the castration of all Germans without exception so that in a few years the German people will simply die out and the German problem as the Allies see it will be solved. Such a story would not seem at all fantastic to the Germans, as it would to other nations, because just that kind of deviltry has been discussed by the Germans themselves as a legitimate method to be employed against their own victims.

The story has not at present Goebbels' imprimatur. But if he were to announce that there had fallen into his hands documentary evidence of the most conclusive and authoritative kind that this was precisely the intention of the British and the French, and that he would publish such

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documents, it is quite certain that the British and the French authorities would take steps to deny the fable, declare the document a forgery (which is why Goebbels will not give such stories his official stamp) and would go on to explain that France and Britain and America do not wage war against children, born or unborn, and that a peaceful German people refraining from aggression would have the same chances of prosperity and well being as anyone else.

Theoretically of course this would be an indication of conditions, a departure from the principle of "unconditional surrender." But if verbal purism in such matters is going to prolong the war for weeks or months, and so cost us perhaps tens of thousands of allied lives, then it is time our political attitudes were determined by realities instead of words. The Germans may be credulous of such stories for the reasons indicated; and their soldiers know how to die. Any nation which believed there was reserved for it on defeat the fate reflected in this fable would hold on to the last, would become a vast suicide squad: to our cost.

Admiral Glassford's Finest Frenchman

VICE-ADMIRAL WILLIAM A. GLASSFORD, JR., recently arrived in London to work as second senior United States naval officer in the European theater.

UP interviewed him on the former French Governor-General of Dakar, Pierre Boisson, with whom Glassford had had dealings when the latter was in Dakar as member of a mission to integrate French naval and economic means into the Allied war effort. The admiral stated that he had received 100 per cent cooperation from Boisson, which was undoubtedly true, and added at the end of the interview, that M. Boisson "is one of the finest of Frenchmen, in my opinion." The reporter then asked him whether he knew where M. Boisson was now, and the admiral answered, "He is in jail in Algiers."

Here are some facts which Admiral Glassford should have known: Boisson commanded the resistance against the French and British at Dakar on September 24, 1940. He personally organized the most severe repression of De Gaullist and democratic elements in French West Africa. Following Hitler's, Pétain's and Laval's example Boisson created special police forces and the ill-famed law courts which were given powers to try all cases of resistance against Vichy. The Military Tribunal at Dakar alone pronounced 94 death sentences, 54 sentences of forced labor, 31 sentences of varying terms of imprisonment. Natives who refused to accept the Vichy regime were also persecuted, and some of them committed suicide. Moho-Naba, Chief of two million Moslem Negroes, killed himself when he was accused of treason for having wanted to join the Fighting French, as did also another native chieftain, Ora Ashedji, who refused to give his oath of allegiance to Marshal Pétain.

As for his being in jail now in Algiers, M. Boisson is only getting what he gave to so many others long ago. He now undoubtedly has time to think over some such facts as those related by Major De Boislambert to the press at the Fighting French headquarters in London, January 3, 1943, regarding the way he was treated under the administration of the "finest Frenchman" Boisson:

"At Dakar, I was thrown into the airless cell of a native prison. The Vichy authorities offered me my freedom if I would consent to tell all that I knew of General De Gaulle's movement in England. The proposition was transmitted to me by a foreign officer whom I believe to be a man of the German secret service. I refused. I had known Governor-General Boisson for years. He had me transferred to Bamako, to a cell 50 by 60 inches in size and from which, in order to lodge me they removed leprous natives. As I declared this treatment unworthy of a Frenchman, an emissary of Mr. Désanti, Governor of French Sudan, told me that it was still too good for a man in the pay of France's enemies. I spent 123 days in that cell."

We in Free World have a better idea of fine Frenchmen. Fine Frenchmen to us are those who rallied around General De Gaulle for resistance to the death against Hitler's Germany and Vichy since June 1940; those who fought and are fighting in the Underground; those who are contributing on various battlefields to the Allied Victory.

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CHALLENGE AFTER VICTORY

Remolding the German Mind

By WALTER CERF

GERMANY and her allies will be defeated; our victory will be crushing. What will the victor do with the vanquished?

Germany must be disarmed and kept unarmed. She must pay in work and money for the devastation she has caused, and a court will be established to punish those responsible for her crimes.

Everyone is agreed on these three points. But this is only half the story, and perhaps the less important half.

Without a radical change in the German mentality, the world is in for a still bloodier war within fifty years. The crimes of this war will be forgotten after two or three decades. The Germans will grow tougher and stronger during this time. The victors will grow soft again. A new generation will see in Germany no great menace.

The Germans, in turn, will have forgotten the hardships of the Russian campaign. A new generation will remember only how close, how unbelievably close, the dream of German world domination had come to fulfilment. A few thousand more robot bombs might have been enough to turn the scales. "This time we are going to have those robot bombs!"

I

Without a deep change in the Germans' mentality any change of fortune will for them be just another trial, the better to fit them for their mission of conquering the world. This altered mentality is the most important change that must come out of the war.

The Germans must re-condition themselves—nobody can do it for them. But we can facilitate the task; and it is in our interest to do so. It is in our interest to see a Germany rise up that has learned from the failure of the Weimar Republic as well as from the experiences of this war, a Germany that is truly European and cherishes the values of a humanistic and Christian democracy.

There are several things we can do toward this end; at least there are several things that we should not do again. Above all, we must not repeat the fatal mistake that was made when the burden was laid upon the peaceful, democratic Weimar Republic for the sins committed by its militaristic predecessors.

II

THE mistake made at Versailles was not just the size of the reparations but the fact that this punishment was imposed upon the first peaceful, democratic government that Germany has ever had.

This mistake must not be repeated, but how can we avoid it? We agree that Germany shall be punished. Her sins shall be brought home to every German, and in such a way that they will remain in his memory and that of future generations.

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But the germs of democracy and internationalism must not be killed by economic and political oppression in any form. Within the limits of international tact we should do all we can to help those germs flower into the spirit of European co-operation. Can we unite the seemingly contradictory ends of punishment and assistance?

It can be done. In my opinion the men who started this war should be the signers of the armistice. They must be responsible for all agreements by which Germany declares herself ready to pay reparations, return stolen goods and properties to their owners and atone for her crimes.

They should not, however, be the signers of the final peace treaty. This treaty should be concluded only after a period of ten or twenty years of reparations and expiations. The final peace treaty, signed by democratically elected representatives of the German people, might put an end to the period of punishment and Germany could be received into the European family.

A new German democracy should not be handicapped by the crimes of its Nazi predecessors. The period of punishment must be linked in the German mind with the men who brought about this period, the Nazi chieftains, the generals, the barons of steel and coal and money.

There is no better way to force Germany into a militaristic mold than again to let the war party go into retirement after defeat and heap the load of punishments upon its democratic successor. The warmongers themselves, those Nazis and field-marshals who survive the war and the final rebellion, should be forced to sign and execute the armistice and the various agreements between victor and vanquished that, from time to time, may be thought necessary in this period of utter misery and humiliation for Germany. The decades of this atonement must not be the infancy of a new German democracy. The Weimar Republic did not survive such an ordeal—nor would the new republic.

III

A LONG period of armistice following this war will, I believe, prove beneficial for a second reason, which has to do with the psychology of the Germans.

"Les Allemands aiment trop la mort," said Clemenceau—the Germans are in love with death. Instead of enjoying life and its pleasures, they prefer death to a life that is not lived in the service of some cause.

"Death and Duty"—this slogan expresses the German mentality or at least that aspect of it which the Nazis have diabolically perverted into Hitler idolatry. The German is happy not when he enjoys the little pleasures of life but when he has to renounce them in order to do his duty, whatever this duty may be. He longs for something that takes him out of life's banal stream into the eternal realm of duties, strict and severe, where everybody has his definite assignment to be fulfilled regardless of the sacrifice in life and happiness that it may entail.

What a contrast to our American this-worldliness! Americans are perfectionists—we believe that this world is getting better or at least that it would get better if only we tried hard enough. We believe in progress; the suspicion that history may be just a whirl of equally valid, equally invalid forms does not affect us.

We believe that a social order can be achieved in which every human being shall be able to make a decent living. What we mean by a decent living is less clear than the fact that we believe in it. Decency, however, is not exclusively economic. We mean clean surroundings and healthy food—cleanliness and health having moral as well as physical connotations; we mean a fair amount of work and a certain amount of amusement; we mean neighborliness, kindness, and trust in one another.

We have tended to secularize the Sermon on the Mount into a program for decent living in this world of ours. An all-pervasive this-worldliness that is vaguely, but firmly, bound to Christianity, through its inherent standard of decency, has pushed the Puritan feeling of sin and guilt into the background.

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With our innate perfectionism which so readily hurrahs any new aim, we tend to presuppose in all other people the same disposition; but we must sooner or later face the fact that this is not the case, least of all with a nation which, after unheard-of effort, sees itself humiliatingly defeated just when it expected a victory so decisive that a whole millennium was to depend upon it. In this atmosphere of desperation, our easy perfectionism will find no echo.

Vice President Wallace's milk plan is a fine program for a nation of young giants who are confident in their strength. But the German would ask: *Why* should I drink this milk and become strong? What meaning has my life? Is it worth being lived just for living's sake? A German who has had his daily glass of milk but does not know the meaning of his life, will be utterly miserable. A German who has found the meaning of his life but never gets a glass of milk, will be ecstatically happy.

We shall have to wait. We shall have to wait until the German has found some cause in the service of which he can both fulfill his sense of duty and become a member of the great European community.

This war, which for him will end in a worse defeat than the last one, will once more leave him metaphysically at a loose end. It will strengthen no end the pessimism dormant in the soul of all born metaphysicians. Just because of this vacuum in the German mind which the Nazi obsession will leave behind it, I think we should insist upon a period of armistice immediately following the war.

A new democracy ought to be launched not in a spiritual vacuum but in spiritual conviction. During the ten or twenty years of the armistice the German intelligentsia and the German nation would have time to make up their minds.

The only hope for making Germany a strong and peaceful member of the European family of nations is that the German soul should espouse or slowly learn to espouse the cause of a national community that regulates its internal and external relations by the Greek-Christian idea of justice. Germany can become a peaceful member of a federation of European nations, if the Germans find the meaning they are longing for in the moral ideas of Christianity and Humanism; if they shift from the national socialism which has given their metaphysical longing a pseudo-satisfaction to the ideal of a world organization of free men; from the ideas of Nietzsche to those of Goethe, under whose sign the new Germany will be born.

IV

WE should not influence the German mind directly; but there are indirect ways of helping it toward a decision European and international in spirit.

I believe we should throw our whole influence on the side of an attempt to make Europe *one* living space. The period of the armistice could be used for preparing psychological, economic and political conditions such that every German, Frenchman, Italian, Pole etc., without giving up his cultural and national heritage, actually *feels* himself as European.

Europe, the whole of it in all its aspects, its geographical unity, its economic unity, its spiritual unity, should penetrate into the thinking and feeling, into the life of the average Frenchman, German or Italian, as it has not yet begun to do. I think the treaty of Versailles weakened rather than strengthened the cause of a supernational Europe.

To an American this narrow European parochialism is hard to understand. When he boards the ship during his summer vacation, he does not go to France or to Germany or to Italy. He goes "to Europe." But has any French or German or Italian immigrant ever come "from Europe"? He comes from Germany, or France, or Italy. To the "European," Europe is not yet a reality.

Americans inhabit a whole continent: they move freely from coast to coast. Europe, though much smaller, has never been *one* space in which a person could roam around with no barriers other than the sea. Few Americans live where they were born and die where they have lived. But how many Germans have ever left their home state? How many have ever been outside

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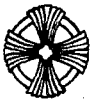
Germany—except as soldiers, or as tourists preparing invasions? Language barriers, border difficulties, political and racial antagonisms have split Europe into a multitude of lilliputian continents.

There is no longer any excuse for different nations learning of each other only through invasion and the soldier's futile embrace. The feeling that we are all human beings can be fostered only by living with, not killing each other; and only by destroying nationalistic parochialism can the stupid reaction be weeded out that somebody who is different is therefore inferior.

Nothing will be psychologically more helpful in building up a united Europe than the feeling that it is *one* space—geographical, economic, political—in which everybody can move around freely. And nothing will better promote peaceful intentions and the international mind of nations than their actually having shared the life of other national communities.

By a "ruse of reason," Hitler's transportation of millions of slave workers into Germany may have been instrumental in the growth of a real internationalism—real because based on the *experience* of the single individual himself and not upon some theory. Europe is becoming conscious of its being one big homogeneous market of labor and capital. Out of such an economic unity, we may hope that another Europe will grow in which each nationality shall respect the others, however small, and in which the idea that every human being is, above all, human, has become an all-pervasive conviction.



THERE are certain factors not economic and political, but merely psychological or "cultural," that may greatly further this development toward a united Europe.

I think of the feeding of the children by the Quakers and similar organizations. Since this feeding is an act inspired by a sense of super-national, universally human obligation, it should inspire a like feeling in those fed.

This was not the case after the last war. I went to school in Germany when the Quakers fed milk, bread and butter to every needy German child. The Quakers were an institution like school itself, something we accepted as natural. We did not know where they came from, why they did it, where they got the money. It never occurred to us that it costs money to feed millions of children. Americans? We had only the vaguest idea what Americans were. Indians? Or squatters? The Quakers were just a strange name for us. We did not even know how to pronounce the word, it sounded funny. "Quaken" in German means the sound frogs make. Quakers, then, were people who made frog-like sounds and we croaked when we entered the long dark room which the school had given the Quakers for our breakfast. Children expect much and little. They take what comes and what does not come, although they may miss it, they feel it is not owed to them. Milk and bread were given us. We took it, neither thinking that it was our right to ask for it, nor feeling any obligation toward the giver. This ingratitude is not particularly German, it is child-like.

If we want to influence the German children and inspire them with a feeling of obligation, we cannot do it merely by feeding them. We shall have to use the feeding in such a way as to teach them Christian principles of universal brotherhood.

How to do that in detail must be left to educators and psychologists. Here we wish merely to formulate the general task. The feeding of German children must serve to condition them in a truly Christian, universally human way. A good chance of preparing spiritually an era of peace, international neighborliness, Christian democracy will be missed if we forget the *spiritual* possibilities – propagandistic in the best sense—that are inherent in our *material* help.

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ANOTHER step to be taken is an organized mass exchange of boys and girls who want to go into teaching. They will play an essential part in the construction of the future.

The teachers of the coming German generation can have their narrow teutonic minds widened and acquire a world-consciousness by living for at least a year abroad. Those countries are to be preferred that have a long democratic tradition, such as England and America.

A sojourn in the United States will serve persuasively to acquaint the German with a culture which more than any other in the world exhibits the quality of decency, kindness, neighborliness, love of freedom, tolerance, willingness to listen to the other side and strike compromises.

VI

The lesson taught to any German boy or girl by a year or two in the United States will be invaluable in his relation to his European neighbors.

To summarize the suggestions we have made: an armistice to be signed by the German war criminals themselves; a period of economic and political punishment and spiritual gestation, to allow the Christian and humanistic elements in the German soul to come out into the open; and certain cultural steps that may be helpful in putting Germany on the road toward democracy and international order. This is our challenge after victory.

World Organization . . . . What Do We Lose?

THE outcry against "giving up national sovereignty" is again, as it was at the end of the last war, the leitmotiv of all those who are opposed to the creation of an effective world organization.

It is evident to every student of international affairs that no aggression can be effectively prevented or crushed from the beginning if there are not a certain number of common rules and principles of international law which are adopted by all nations, and in defense of which they are ready to act under all circumstances.

The phrase "giving up national sovereignty" is wrong, because in reality what is needed is to coordinate the sovereign will of the peace- and freedom-loving peoples for the defense of a certain number of principles.

The only rights a nation would "lose" are the following:

1. ***The right to attack another country, to settle disputes by violent action, or to declare war without a decision adopted by the Supreme Council of the world organization or without being in a state of self-defense.***
2. ***The right to trade and maintain normal relations with the aggressor nation, declared as such by the World Supreme Court.***
3. ***The right to refuse to participate in measures to safeguard world peace, or in the coercion of the aggressor nation.***
4. ***The right to organize a country in violation of the standard rules of civilized humanity (for example, to suppress a mass of people for racial or religious reasons, to torture, to arrest people without legal guarantees, to establish a system of racial inequality).***
5. ***The right to increase military forces in violation of international agreement on armaments.***
6. ***The right to educate along lines of untruth and hatred of other peoples.***
7. ***The right to maintain economic autarchy in violation of international decisions.***
8. ***The right not to participate in the expenses of international organization.***
9. ***The right to refuse activities on one's soil of the representatives of world organization.***

None of these rights is in any case being used by any peace-loving nation, and in losing them the people as a whole would not be losing anything. Unless these rights are transferred to the international sphere an aggressor will always feel that he might be able to divide the peace-loving nations, and thus he would be immensely encouraged to start new aggressions.

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FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

PILLAR OF HUMAN RIGHTS

by
Sumner Welles

THIS is the second in the series of articles on Freedom of Information which FREE WORLD *started in its August issue with an article by James Lawrence Fly, Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, in which he discussed the practical means of obtaining a free flow of news around the world.*

Sumner Welles carries the discussion on Freedom of Information a step further, showing the moral necessity for making news as free and obtainable as bread. In the present article he expresses his conviction that an international agreement is necessary, and that it should contain the specific stipulation that no nation may become a member of the proposed world organization unless it is able to demonstrate that by its constitution or by its basic legislation, its citizens are granted, among other inalienable rights, that of freedom of information.

ONE of the most encouraging developments in popular thinking in all the United Nations during recent months has been the increasing evidence that people are giving thought to the need for insuring the security of individual rights as well as of national rights as a necessary requisite to a peaceful and stable world when they formulate their ideal of what a future international organization should be.

The concept of the necessity for an international bill of rights is rapidly gaining more and more support. There is an increasing realization that chief among the contributing causes for war has been the deprivation by governments of the individual rights of their nationals. Men and women see more clearly today than ever before that no world order can exist when human beings are prevented from enjoying freedom of worship, freedom of expression, and freedom of information. They have learned that where the masses of the people have no true knowledge of what their government is doing, and no accurate information of what other governments and peoples are undertaking or thinking, the great majority of them will always be tempted blindly to follow the dictates of their governments.

Free men and women such as those in the Anglo-Saxon democracies, where these basic individual rights have long been established as the very foundation of their national life, are conscious that the enjoyment of these rights by all peoples is as much a prerequisite to the peaceful and prosperous world of the future which they seek, as is the construction of a practical form of international organization which can maintain peace among nations by force when necessary and which, through cooperative measures, can undertake to remedy past economic and social errors.

The objection has often been raised by some of the more timorous or reactionary

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of the sceptics that the establishment by common agreement among the nations of an international bill of rights will necessarily involve continued interference by foreign nations in the purely internal affairs of independent peoples. They maintain that it would be intolerable for any sovereign country to be obliged to subject itself to an investigation by any international organization of the measure of freedom enjoyed by its nationals. They insist that the United States, for example, could never permit any international organization to determine whether the people of this country are enjoying the essential liberties to which they are entitled.

Specious and insincere objections of this character have, of course, retarded throughout history the achievement of all forms of social progress. It was only 150 years ago that moral opinion in many different parts of the civilized world reached the conclusion that human slavery was an intolerable institution and that it must be destroyed. At first the efforts to eliminate slavery resulted solely in international agreements for the abolition of the international slave trade. As nations themselves progressively eliminated slavery within their respective jurisdictions, concerted international moral opinion brought about a general agreement upon a still more far-reaching objective. All civilized peoples determined that slavery, wherever it existed, must be stamped out. They decided that the end must be achieved, whether or not the means infringed upon a purely legalistic conception of sovereignty.

In much the same manner, the elimination of such evils as the trade in narcotics and the white slave traffic has during the past decades come to be regarded as the accomplishment of a great benefit for all mankind. International moral opinion has at length come to the conviction that all nations must share in taking the steps necessary to its realization.

The rapid rise of the conviction that the general international maintenance of standards which call for freedom of religion, of expression, and of information for all peoples is essential to the maintenance of world peace, represents a similar phenomenon. It implies that those free men and women who are determined that a better world shall exist in the future regard this issue as one which transcends the previously accepted doctrines of unlimited sovereignty.

There is, however, no reason to anticipate that the acceptance by the nations of the world of this new standard of international conduct necessarily implies that peoples will generally be forced to acquiesce in constant interferenee in their domestic affairs by foreign powers. The practical solution of the problem would eliminate the danger of any continuous meddling by foreign powers, great or small, in the domestic affairs of other peoples.

International Rules

IT is difficult—notwithstanding the contentions of certain writers to the contrary—to envisage any future international organization which is not premised upon the prior acceptance by the nations composing it of certain definite obligations and of certain fundamental rules of international conduct. These principles and rules must be embodied in some international agreement similar in character, if not in content, to the Covenant of the League of Nations. There is every reason why such a charter should contain the specific stipulation that no nation may become a member of the new international organization unless it is able to demonstrate that by its constitution, or by its basic legislation, the citizens of such nation are granted as inalienable rights freedom of worship, of expression, and of information. In such manner the great principles embodied in the international bill of rights would be for all time established as obligations which each country must assume before it is able to secure from the freedom-loving nations of the world its acceptance as a member of the new international organization.

Should the complaint subsequently be raised that a government was depriving its nationals of these freedoms, the matter should be brought to the cognizance of the competent agency of the international organization, which presumably would be the international court, for determination. In the event that any government were shown to be guilty of violating the pledges which it made when it became a member of the international organization, it would

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obviously be no longer entitled to be regarded as a member in good standing of international society, and should be subjected to such sanctions or penalties as might be provided in the charter of the international organization.

Propaganda Made Hitler

THE need for freedom of information as a means of preventing peoples in the future from being deluded by their leaders into the belief that a war of aggression will redound to their benefit, or can ever prove to be a remedy for any legitimate grievances, has never been better demonstrated than in the case of the German people during the past eleven years. To the reader of Hitler's "Mein Kampf," any elaboration of this statement will be unnecessary. Hitlerism could never have dominated Germany had it not been for the receptivity of the German mentality to the grossest forms of propaganda. The rest of the world should for many years remember the truth of the words which a former Foreign Minister of Germany, Kiderlen Waechter, once so cynically set down:

"A press campaign of four months will convince the German people of the rightness of any idiocy you like to suggest."

Hitler's propaganda commenced its deadly work, it is true, at a time when relative freedom of information still existed in Germany. Its results swept Hitler into power, with the only half-concealed support of the guiding forces within the German Army and the great German industrial cartels. The ruthless use of terrorism during the first years of the Nazi regime, however, soon brought with it the repression of all of those elements within Germany which had been at the outset opposed to the Nazi system. These could only have made their opposition effective through the use of the press and of the radio in order to counteract the hold which Hitlerism had riveted upon the German mind.

Once Hitler had eliminated every means of information other than those controlled by the Nazis, the German peoples became wholly responsive to the blatant forms of official propaganda which they were fed. Within only a brief period from the time when Hitler first seized power in February 1933 no German newspaper and no German broadcasting station could function unless it not only refrained from publishing the news, domestic or foreign, which the Nazi leaders did not wish the German public to learn, but also unless it published the kind of doctored news which Hitler wished the German people to assimilate.

There can be no question of the effectiveness of the Nazi system in this regard. Inclined as they instinctively were to believe in the militaristic theory of the master race, and to suspect that all other peoples

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ot the world were bent upon depriving them of their legitimate rights and upon "encircling" their native land, the German people, now deprived of all opportunity of knowing what other peoples were actually doing or thinking, became wholly confident that the course pursued by their Government was justified. They became convinced, in their overwhelming majority, that the hideous official persecution of the minorities within their borders was righteous; that the Western democracies were determined upon their destruction; that the obliteration of all their own individual freedom was a glorious form of patriotism, and that the domination by Germany of the rest of the world was equivalent to the triumph of good over evil.

Germans Believed Goebbels

THE more fantastic the lies which the Goebbels propaganda machine poured out to the German people, the more avidly were they swallowed. Only one thing could have prevented the supine obedience given by the German people to Nazism in the years prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, and, even more, during the years since 1939. That would have been knowledge on their part of what the peoples of the Western democracies, and particularly of the United States, were really thinking, and the opportunity to receive accurate news of what was happening in the rest of the world. Had they been possessed of this information, they could not have failed to know that the Second World War was deliberately brought about by the Nazi Government, and that the free peoples would not only fight to the last man to prevent the successful domination of the world by the Axis powers, but also that the greater resources of the United Nations must inevitably, in the long run, result in a new and, this time, total, defeat of Germany. Only such knowledge could have given them pause.

In Japan, of course, freedom of information in any real sense has never existed. In the years prior to the first World War and in the early 1920's, the Japanese people had available to them a far greater measure of the truth as to what was going on in other parts of the earth than in more recent years, but the official influence exercised over all means of information in Japan, even during the most liberal period in Japanese history, has been extreme.

It is interesting to take, as an example of what lack of freedom of information can bring about in the political development of a traditionally and inherently democratic people, the history of the Argentine Republic during the past three years.

Constitutional government has existed in Argentina, with only brief lapses, for more than eighty years. The Argentine people are a highly individualistic nation. Individual liberty has long been a fact and not merely an aspiration. Liberty of the press, in particular, has been a matter of national pride. The complete independence of such great world newspapers as *La Prensa* and *La Nacion* has been proverbial for many generations. Any form of governmental interference with the press, or in more recent years with the radio, could not even have been imagined.

Nevertheless in 1941 when President Ortiz resigned, and the Vice President, Dr. Castillo, succeeded to the Chief Magistracy, martial law was soon thereafter proclaimed under the pretext that the security of the nation demanded such precautionary measures as a result of the spread of the world war. Little by little censorship

Sumner Welles

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became more stringent. People gradually became accustomed to it. Little by little encroachments upon the freedom of the press became more far-reaching. At first limited to restrictions upon criticism of the foreign policy of the Government, they later embraced any form of criticism of the regime. Soon the constitutional rights of the Legislative Branch of the Government were invaded. With the revolt in June 1943, which resulted in the establishment of the military junta of General Ramirez, the form of dictatorship to which Europe grew accustomed during the period between the wars immediately became evident. The Argentine Congress was abolished and the rights of public assembly and of speech were obliterated. But a measure of liberty was still preserved by the great Argentine newspapers.

Newspapers Bow to Control

WHEN the Ramirez regime was replaced, as the result of a new military coup d'état, by the present Farrell dictatorship, even this nominal measure of independence disappeared, and for the first time in the history of the Argentine Republic the two great newspapers which have for so long been a glory not only of Argentina but of the entire Western Hemisphere as well, have been forced to bow to the dictates of the military regime.

Today the Argentine people, unless they are able to listen in to the radio broadcasts from neighboring countries, or to obtain surreptitiously newspapers from Chile or from Uruguay, have not the slightest conception of what is going on in the rest of the world, nor of the opinion held by the public in all the other Americas concerning the dictatorship which has imposed itself upon them.

Had the Argentine people been able to avail themselves during the past three years of full freedom of information, the political history of Argentina during that period would inevitably have been far different.

The hope which so many of us have today that an international organization can be created, and that through it war may be prevented and orderly human progress become a reality, is based in large part upon our conviction that the masses of the people everywhere, if they always secure accurate information, can and will ultimately attain these objectives. We are also entitled to hope that over a period of years, after the victory is won, the peoples of the Axis themselves may undergo a transformation and a regeneration. But we know also that this cannot come to pass unless they are enabled to know the truth.

What this means is that a great majority of the peoples of the United Nations have come to the conclusion that the maintenance of peace among nations in the future will be contingent upon the growth of real democracy in every region of the earth. Democracy cannot, however, develop, much less exist, unless men and women everywhere are in practice enabled to enjoy those freedoms which are set forth in the international bill of rights. Among these freedoms none is more immediate in its effect, as a guarantee for the maintenance of peace, than the ability of all peoples freely to learn the truth, and freely to govern themselves accordingly.

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TRUTH in NEWS

by
CHRISTOPHER CHANCELLOR
General Manager of Reuters

The man who heads the great British news-gathering agency, Reuters, agrees with Mr. Fly that the flow of unbiased news is important to human rights. Unlike Fly, he doubts this can be attained merely through an easy and cheap communications system.

London (by cable)—

I HAVE read with the greatest interest the article written by Mr. J. L. Fly, Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, in "FREE WORLD."

I completely endorse Mr. Fly's five principles, which embody everything that those who are striving for the establishment of a free flow of truthful and unbiased news between countries are seeking to achieve.

Perhaps I should explain that REUTERS, one of the great world news services, is owned co-operatively by the newspapers of Great Britain, and is guaranteed by a charter, freely signed by representatives of these newspapers, legally endorsing the complete "integrity and independence" of REUTERS in its task of distributing truthful and unbiased world news.

Mr. Fly is campaigning for free world communications, and in this we in REUTERS are behind him 100 per cent.

I have carefully studied Mr. Fly's various statements and articles, and my feeling is that he is sometimes in danger of intellectual confusion between two separate things—first, freedom of communications and, secondly, freedom of news.

Even if Mr. Fly succeeds—and I fervently hope that he does succeed—in establishing free, efficient and rapid communications throughout the world the battle for freedom of news still remains to be fought.

This battle must largely be fought by world news agencies, such as REUTERS in Great Britain and the great press associations in the United States.

Allied on basic principles with these great American press associations, REUTERS is dedicated to the principle of "Truth in News" in the international field, and the establishment, for all time, of a clear and fundamental distinction, understood and recognized in every country, between honest news services whose sole criterion is Truth and propaganda services masquerading as often as not under the disguise of a news agency or press association.

Even when Mr. Fly has won his battle, we in the world news business may have to go on fighting ours.

And REUTERS is in there fighting—wholeheartedly.

Our constitution guarantees our integrity and independence of Government control or political interest of any kind.

We have drafted a new form of contract designed to govern our relationship with other news agencies, the preamble to which binds both parties to accept the principles of a free press and truthful unbiased news, and calls for a declaration that they are entirely independent in their selection and compilation of news.

This is a test we intend to apply rigorously; and our acceptance of news will be determined by a searching and ceaseless vigilance designed to safeguard world news channels against contamination at their source. This is essential if the facilities for the freer flow of information visualized by Mr. Fly are not to be vitiated by their application to purposes other than those intended.

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FREE NEWS

First Step in Peace

BY KENT COOPER

NEVER before has there been such fervid determination in the world that nations must find a better way to live together. This generation must find a way to durable peace, or take responsibility for one of the most ghastly failures in human history.

Yet in all the zealous planning of this eleventh hour to avoid the tragic mistakes and failures of the past, only recently has any considerable attention been given to one of the basic essentials of a stable world order. Indeed, it is so basic, that most planning has begun several steps beyond it, without thought as to whether this first and utterly necessary step had been taken.

It is elemental that there can be no amity and cooperation between nations and peoples unless they can know each other, yet it is a shocking revelation to most people when they are informed that the great masses of intelligent, thinking people throughout the world have had no adequate and effective means of knowing the truth about each other. Nor will they have such means after this war, unless determined, thoughtful and strenuous effort is immediately applied to this long overlooked problem.

Let me not seem to oversimplify when I say it is fundamental that man is a gregarious being, and that he is not at heart a killer. Normal men become killers only in self-defense, or under the influence of mass emotion. Wars are started by leaders who are able to instill into their peoples, first, prejudices, then mass hatreds.

The outstanding and most infamous example of this technique is what Hitler did in Nazi Germany. This is generally known, but it must never be forgotten. Freedom of press and speech died in Germany on the night of January 30, 1933, when Hitler took the government into authoritarian hands and completely regimented every form of public expression into his propaganda machine.

It was not long before persons entering Germany from the outside found in that unhappy land a world depicted in press and radio so astonishingly fictional as to seem like another planet. So completely and skillfully was this diabolical program organized, it seemed that no lie the Nazis could conjure up to justify their outrages was too monstrous to be accepted by at least a very large proportion of the German people.

This, I repeat, is fairly well known, at least in the United States, thanks in large measure to the brilliant and courageous work of American and other foreign correspondents who were able to get this black story out to the world.

What is not generally known and what must be fully understood, if there is to be any success in purifying the flow and counterflow of international news and information, is that what the Nazis did is only an extreme form of what has gone on steadily throughout most of the world, under our very noses.

It is easy to believe that pollution of the news in Germany antedates the Nazis, and so it does. Before 1914, Kaiser Wilhelm, through his personal banker, controlled the only extensive national and international news channel in and out of the Reich, the German news agency then known as the Wolff Bureau, now the Deutches Nachrichtenburo, or DNB. Through this agency German minds were prepared for the first World War, and in addition, through its dominance of news agencies in Austria-Hungary and in Balkan countries, it generated awe and fear in Germany.

Had the practice of systematic and pur-

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poseful distortion, perversion and choking of the news channels been common only to the nations who are now our enemies, the history of this little known subject would be far less shocking, and the problem which now confronts us far less difficult than it is.

Americans in Ill-Repute

THOUGHTFUL Americans visiting Europe even as recently as the years immediately preceding this war, were often perplexed by the low esteem in which we seemed to be held. It became common to attribute it to the war debt controversy, or perhaps the unrestrained conduct of some of our vacationing countrymen. But one needed only to read the newspapers. In many countries rarely would news from the United States be found unless it were an item dealing with a Chicago gangster killing, or a Hollywood divorce case.

For years, our own State Department was perplexed by the stubborn apathy in South America toward happenings in the United States. It found its efforts to cultivate a closer understanding with the lands to the South persistently frustrated.

These are just two examples of effects upon this country of news channels controlled and influenced for nationalistic and other ulterior purposes. It is little wonder that much of the world had come to regard the United States as a soft and pleasure-loving country, to believe that Americans would never sacrifice their luxuries for moral principles.

The foreign news agency arrangements, with roots going well back into the 19th century and broken down only very recently, cartelized the world among British, French and German agencies under strong governmental influence. I have disclosed this in considerable detail elsewhere ("Barriers Down," by Kent Cooper, published 1942).

It is sufficient to relate here that the British agency, Reuters, founded in 1858 by Julius Reuter, Anglicized German, soon became the dominant agency in Europe, aided by the close relations of Reuter with the Rothschild banking family. A helpful circumstance was that British capital controlled most of the cables linking the continents of the world.

Reuters controlled or made secret deals with agencies in other countries, many of which were only government mouthpieces. The French agency Havas, developed similarly, working closely with Reuters. Havas not only handled news, but was an advertising agency in addition, so that newspapers in France, Italy and other countries where it once was dominant, paid for its service in advertising space and became its servants. Both were private corporations, operated for profit, skilled at intrigue, exclusive contracts and monopolistic arrangements, and both worked closely with the foreign offices of their respective governments.

The perplexing apathy to United States news in South America to which I have referred stemmed directly from the European news cartel. Until the first World War, Havas had the exclusive right to send news to South America. For this purpose it used the British cable. So Havas was careful not to offend the British, and South America saw the world only through French and British eyes.

It is perhaps not surprising that we in the United States, engrossed in our own affairs and in the development of a virgin continent, should have been blind to these dangerous news agency machinations, and that we were victimized by them. But I have previously written that true and unbiased news was "the highest moral concept ever developed in America." Historians and philosophers may say I exaggerate the importance of this, but I do not think so.

I insist that when a group of American newspaper publishers in 1893 formed a news non-profit cooperative, to be wholly owned by the newspapers it serves, and thus to have no function but to supply accurate and unbiased news, necessarily accurate and unbiased because it must be satisfactory to newspapers of all shades of editorial opinion, something new and vitally important occurred in the world.

Breaking News Monopoly

THE purpose of this organization, The Associated Press, was to break a private news monopoly which had then developed in this country. The American newspapers at that time lacked the means to collect the news systematically from far lands, and essential strategy in the infant AP's success

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against the American monopoly of that day was obtaining a news exchange contract with Reuters.

Thus The Associated Press was compelled to take the best terms it could get from the European cartel. These terms were that it could not dispatch its own news outside of North America. It could and did, as rapidly as its organization developed, send its own staff correspondents into foreign countries to send to North America the news of happenings abroad, reported according to its principles of unbiased reporting. I worked for twenty years to break down these barriers to the sending of Associated Press news throughout the world. The first break came in 1919, when AP began service to South America, but not until 1934 was the break complete.

Meanwhile the other two American news agencies, the United Press and the International News Service, developing at a later time, made some progress after the first World War in sending their news to the world, although in my opinion such progress as had been made up to the outbreak of the present war little more than broke the ice.

A new era in international news arrangements dawns. Whether it will be one of free and untainted news channels, essential to maintenance of peace and international cooperation, will depend upon our determination and zeal to make it so. Previously, I have written in detail of my unsuccessful efforts at Versailles in 1919 to bring the principles of freedom of information into the peace settlements after the first World War. I was finally informed by Colonel House that "the matter had been taken care of privately." I learned later this meant it had been left to the mercy of the European news cartel.

Today, the entire background has changed. On October 28, 1941, the British newspapers took control of Reuters, and through a trusteeship arrangement it is now operated mutually for the newspapers of Great Britain. Thus, England has adopted the American formula of the cooperative Associated Press. The Havas agency of France is no more. Surely there will be a new order in Germany.

In 1942, two far-sighted and high-principled executives of the new Reuters, William

J. Haley and Christopher J. Chancellor, came to New York to negotiate a new contract with The Associated Press. The preamble to that contract, which I wrote, begins: "Associated and Reuters, recognizing the desirability of world-wide acceptance of the principle of a free press and international exchange of truthful, unbiased news between the press and the instrumentalities of the press of all nations * * *" Since then, Haley has become Director General of The British Broadcasting Corporation, and Chancellor General Manager of Reuters.

News on Its Merits

CARRYING the program further, Reuters made a contract with the Swedish News Agency this year which begins: "Both parties to the present agreement declare that they are news agencies serving no other purpose than the dissemination of truthful, unbiased news; that they are free from any government or tendentious control, and that the news which they supply to each other shall be compiled and selected purely on its merits as news, and that any editorial discretion on each side shall be free from outside dictation or prejudice."

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In publishing the text of this preamble the British newspaper trade magazine, *World's Press News,* added:

"The necessity for making news in the international field independent of governmental or financial influences—for the sake of world peace—has found expression in the principles established some two and a half years ago, when Reuters was converted into a cooperative undertaking.* * *

"After the war, all European countries whose newspapers have been destroyed by the Nazis or made into Quisling organs, will have to rebuild their newspapers and news agencies, and it is hoped they will, in their task of reconstruction, build on the same principles."

A gratifying awareness of this problem in its international implications is finally developing in the United States. Concluding an address to the annual luncheon of the members of The Associated Press April 19, 1943, I said:

"This, then, is an expression of hope that whenever the day of peace shall come, the press of all countries will seek the right to give the people the truth. As surely as it has, through lack of interest, contributed to a cause of war, it should avail itself of this opportunity.

"And as for the press of this country, the strongest newspaper force ever developed in any nation ought to crusade to prove to all the world that a free press is a heritage of the people and that with it, the people can maintain their freedom."

The idea of cleansing the channels of world news obtained striking recognition only this summer in the political platforms of both great American political parties. Some day, the names of those responsible for this splendid accomplishment will be emblazoned.

The paragraph in the Democratic party platform says:

> We believe in the world right of all men to write, send and publish the news at uniform communication rates and without interference by governmental or private monopoly and that right should be protected by treaty.

The longer Republican platform says:

> In times like these when peoples have found themselves shackled by governments which denied truth, or worse, dealt in half-truths or withheld the facts from the public, it is imperative to the maintenance of a free America that the press and radio be free and that full and complete information be available to Americans. There must be no censorship except to the extent required by war necessity * * * All channels of news must be kept open with equality of access to information at the source. If agreement can be achieved with foreign nations to establish the same principles, it will be a valuable contribution to future peace.

Of course, these vital objectives will not be won with fine phrases. Many will give lip service only to them. Vast areas of the world have never known a free press. There will be dangerous periods of transition when war-racked countries are reconstructed.

Warmongers Use Radio

RADIO presents a new and special problem. While it obtains its news chiefly from the news agencies, nowhere has it obtained the freedom that the press has. Naturally, the very nature of the medium presents special problems. In the United States, radio is licensed by the government. In Europe it has from the beginning been considered a government function. No medium of communication thus far developed has been so effective a tool of warmongers. What Hitler did with it, we know too well. He was able to whip his people into a war frenzy much more rapidly than was Wilhelm II in his day.

The problems of transition in the reconstruction period were emphasized in developments surrounding the issue of a decree by the French Government in Algiers, July 3, last, that a single French news agency—Agence Francaise de Presse—would have temporary monopoly on the distribution of news in France after liberation. This was promptly criticized as having the appearance of a totalitarian-type government-sponsored news monopoly. Henri Bonnet, French Commisioner of Information, took pains to explain July 31 that the monopoly was only provisional, and would be applicable only for two or three months, not for six months as originally reported.

It must be remembered that government

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control of the channels of information has been so long established over much of the world, that it may be a long time before officials in power will freely accept a policy of non-interference. The temptation will always be present, especially whenever a government finds its popular hold slipping. At Versailles, scarcely anyone dreamed that all means of communication in the new Germany would one day fall into the hands of a war-mad dictator. It did happen, as I feared it would, and it can happen again, if the rights to news and information are not set forth in treaties, and vigilantly protected.

Indeed, it will be strange if some new governments which arise do not proclaim that the guarding of the channels of information is a proper public function of government, and for that reason the new government should take control. We know only too well to what that can lead. If the power is not abused today, at some tomorrow the temptation to restore wavering popularity by trumping up inflammatory grievances against another country, seemingly confirmed with false or distorted news reports, will prove too strong.

Furthermore, whenever a news agency accepts special favors from a government, whether it be outright subsidy, or favored treatment in availability of communications facilities and rates, or even exclusive or prior access to the news of the government, it has taken a fatal step toward becoming the servant of the government, both in what it reports, and what it fails to report.

All the zeal and idealism that we can muster will not readily bring freedom of information throughout the world. In many areas, a long process in education and development is necessary. But it would be disastrous to delay the process of education.

While government control of the flow of news and information must be prevented, major governments of the United Nations should lend their benediction to the development of independent news agencies, responsible only to the publications, radio stations and other outlets they serve, which in turn are responsible to their public.

They can well now advance the principle that the peace settlements will include guarantees of the right of men to get, send,

© *Kent Cooper*

and publish the news. This should include specific rights of correspondents of both native and foreign news agencies and publications to have equal access to news at the source and to transmission facilities. In other words, no agency should be granted prior or exclusive access to the news. By their competitive efforts some will report important happenings ahead of others. But if all have the right to report the news, truthful reporters will ever be present. Truth will ultimately prevail, if it is not systematically choked off, or distorted.

Let us not lose sight of this basic first step —overlooked at Versailles twenty-five years ago—in building lasting peace. Disarmament is, of course, important. But indeed if all disarmed, a powerful leader who could control the media of news and information might drive his people to attack a weaker neighboring people with such meager peace-time weapons as were available.

Alleviation of depressed living standards, the provision of economic opportunity, is also important, but wars have frequently been started by comparatively prosperous peoples. Living standards are relative. When the people of one country can be led through propaganda to believe their living standards are being held down by the malign plotting of a neighbor country, or combination of countries, they can be driven to war.

The elemental, essential step, to any lasting comity of nations, is the assurance of the free and untrammelled flow of news and information between nations.

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FREE WORLD'S

Thumbnail Definitions: FASCISM

by

Louis Dolivet

FASCISM is a state of mind and a political attitude based on feelings of racial, nationalist and party superiority. It denies the essential human rights to all men and women who are outside the leading fascist clique. Its purpose is the establishment of absolute control by the leading clique over its own country, with later expansion until world domination is achieved.

IN its beginnings a fascist movement usually employs extreme patriotic arguments, and directs its propaganda mainly against national or racial minorities—Jews, Negroes, recent immigrants, refugees, against communists or plutocrats. In the initial phase, fascism offers common platforms and slogans to the other political parties of the majority group. In that same stage fascism restrains itself from use of open violence.

AS soon as fascism feels itself stronger it begins to use terrorist methods, threats, blackmail and "sensational discoveries" regarding government corruption, true or alleged, as the bludgeon for attacking other political parties.

ONCE in power, fascism does not rule according to its original program, but changes its methods constantly according to necessity. In this stage fascism attacks even members of the majority, and often kills the early supporters of the movement. Fascism creates employment, but only through preparations for aggression and war.

FASCISM considers militarism, slave labor and war, not merely as permissible, but as the most glorious achievements of any nation. The essential political characteristic of fascism is that at no time is the consent of the governed asked for. Fascism is the only political movement with no moral or constructive foundation at all. The method of government is characterized by the utmost unscrupulousness and cruelty, in order to establish fascism on a national scale and then to reach for the final goal of any fascist movement, which is world domination.

[*Next month Mr. Dolivet will define the ten outstanding features of fascism by which it can be diagnosed, and will show how these are evident in the fascist movements of the various countries, however widely separated.*]

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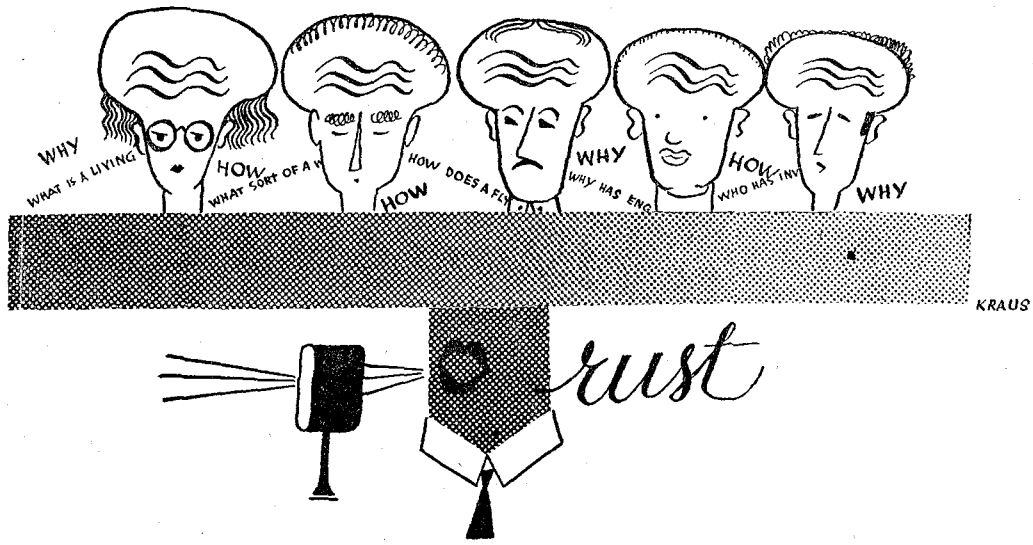

MILLIONS TUNE IN ON

Britain's Brains Trust

By HOWARD THOMAS

IN the midst of war one of Britain's most popular pastimes has been to listen to a handful of men and women discussing science, politics, philosophy and the arts. A conversation piece on the radio between five speakers successfully competed in popularity with the lightest and brightest of entertainments, so that "The Brains Trust" became a listening habit with one-third of Britain's 30,000,000 radio audience.

Every Tuesday evening at 8.15 and until the peaktime 9 o'clock news, five people attempt impromptu answers to questions sent in by listeners. Because no wartime words can be broadcast without censorship the program has to be recorded and approved for security before it reaches listeners. The recording, after its Tuesday transmission on the Home Service, is repeated on Sundays for the General Forces audience, and is then sent to Australia, to India, and to many other parts of the Empire. The program is also broadcast in the English-speaking service to the Continent as an example of free speech in a democratic country.

Every week, between 2,000 and 3,000 questions reach the BBC Brains Trust. Some of them come from prisoner-of-war camps in Germany, some from neutral countries, some from spots as remote as Tibet. They come by airgraph from Forces listening groups in the desert, by airgraph from Britons in Burma, by postcard from His Majesty's ships at sea. "What sort of a world are you planning for us at home?" asked an Eighth Army sergeant's mess; "What is the policy of the Commonwealth party?" a sailor wanted to know; "How does a fly land on the ceiling?" enquired some RAF Bomber Command pilots, a question which Britain debated for weeks. Questions come from schoolchildren, from professional men, even from Her Majesty the Queen.

A vast listening audience, eager for information and for entertainment above dance music level, turned to the Brains Trust program for its colorful new radio personalities (provocative philosopher Joad, erudite Huxley, sea-rover Campbell) ; for its good conversation and its off-the-record

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snapshots of celebrities (Government Minister Ellen Wilkinson threatening to pull Joad's beard, novelist Captain Evelyn Waugh challenging Sir William Beveridge to work for soldier's pay), for the astonishing variety of questions: "What is a living wage?" "Should I report my neighbors for offenses against the war effort?" "Why can we tickle other people but not tickle ourselves?" "How does the creative mind work?" "What is the origin of life?" "If you were a fairy godfather at the christening of a baby girl what five qualities would you bestow upon her?"

Some questions were unanswerable, some questions were unsatisfactorily answered, listeners complained, but at least they started new thoughts and began to broaden minds. The best of the Brains Trust was the discussions it stimulated. Arguments would continue around firesides long after the closing announcement. Next morning the questions would be debated in trains and buses, in camps and factories. Newspapers front-paged such quarrels as the Quintin Hogg attack on Joad, such unpopular answers as the Brains Trust's advice to separate mothers from children (on the grounds that few parents were fit to bring up children), such moments as when the Brains Trust was nonplussed by baffling questions like "What is the origin of music?" "What makes a whistle blow?" and J. Jefferson Farjeon's "Why do cattle rise from a recumbent position hindlegs first and horses forelegs first?"

Brains Trust arguments found their way into the House of Commons, but there Members were more concerned with answerers than answers. The Brains Trust was the only BBC program which figured with any regularity at Question Time, with such embarrassing results to the faint-hearted BBC Governors, that they "liquidated" the more controversial speakers and questions.

Brains Trust Had Brains

THE Brains Trust's fees and politics were of particular interest to the House. In the early days one London M.P. asked the Minister of Information "Is the Minister aware that members of the Brains Trust get £20 per session for attempting to answer very simple questions? Do you think what they give the public is worth it?" To which Mr. Brenden Bracken answered "It shows that they have brains." When Dr. Joad quoted the alleged Confucian aphorism "What economy is it to go to bed in order to save candlelight, if the result be twins?" an M.P. made an issue of this in Parliament "because of its improper nature." On another occasion Mr. Brenden Bracken had to reassure the House "The Brains Trust is not a political platform." But Members of Parliament scrambled to get into the program, for success meant national publicity and enhanced prestige in their constituencies.

Just as the Brains Trust provoked discussion so it aroused thought, and one of the immediate results was a noticeable increase in the demand for non-fiction at public libraries. Dr. Joad, with his fondness for Plato and Socrates, blew the dust off thousands of library copies of their works and for the first time in history librarians found books on philosophy, on science and on the art of living being demanded by readers whose choice usually lay between Edgar Wallace and Vicki Baum. Any book recommended by the Brains Trust was an immediate sell-out and British booksellers confirm that the nation-wide revival of interest in "War and Peace" was the direct result of the Brains Trust's plumping for this as the world's best novel.

The most important result of all was the birth of hundreds of Brains Trusts in villages, towns, camps and clubs throughout Britain. There were religious brains trusts, Forces brains trusts, agricultural brains trusts, and even brains trusts aboard troopships. At the moment Lord Beaverbrook's 3,000,000 circulation Daily Express is running its own touring Brains Trust, with a panel consisting of some of the radio celebrities plus a trio of the newspaper's readers selected from the areas visited by this mobile Brains Trust. It is expected that the next development will be the use of the Brains Trust method of discussion by one of the political parties during the forthcoming General Election, with three or four national figures from Headquarters joined on the platform by the local candidate.

Only by broadcasting could such an idea have been launched and developed into a national institution within such a short space of time, for the Brains Trust program was not conceived until after Hitler had

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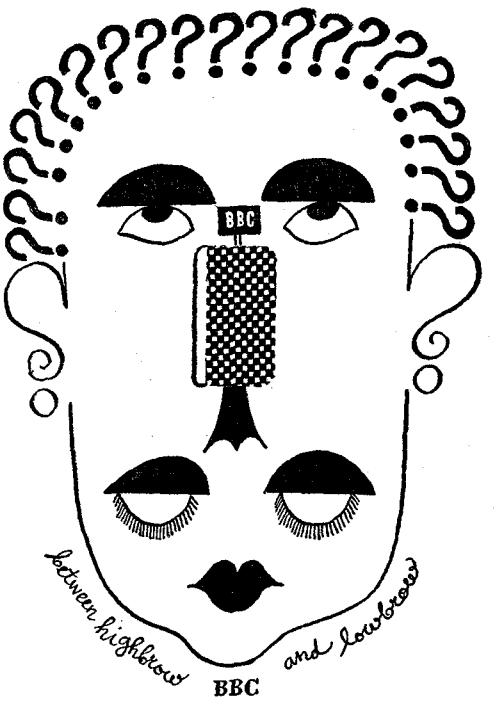
battled away across the Continent to the shores and skies of Britain. The Brains Trust was born out of the mood of Britain in 1941. The program came into being at the very beginning of a new cycle, when Britons were learning how to think; just as many years before popular journalism started to boom when Northcliffe found a formula for catering for people who were learning how to read.

Nation Turned Serious

FOR Britain, Dunkirk made military history, but it made social history as well. Men and women were pitchforked into awareness of the part they had to play themselves in the destiny of their country and of the world. Their country, their Government, their municipal authority, their wardens, their neighbors, all suddenly became a vivid part of the picture that made up their lives. As the realities of war wiped the greyhound racing and football results from newspaper pages, the ordinary citizen turned to what the military writers had to forecast, what the leading writers had to conjecture, what the political correspondents had to advocate. There was a famine in the hungry places of the mind. A more serious public turned to more serious things. It was to a nation conscious of its ignorance, eager to staunch some of the aching gaps in its knowledge that the Brains Trust appealed.

One of the virtues of the British Broadcasting Corporation is that it always remembers the minority. For the intellectual section of its audience there have always been serious talks, poetry readings, obscure plays. Unfortunately, the BBC has always drawn a severe dividing line between the minority audience and the listener masses. It has always been a criticism of the BBC that the people in charge have regarded themselves as of the minority and put on serious programs which are to the tastes of themselves and their friends, thereupon proceeding to toss to the populace, rather disdainfully, a large chunk of "what the public wants," variety and dance music. In other words, while supplying its minority audience the BBC has never tried to tempt its lower stratum of listeners to "move up the class."

This policy of dividing listeners into two distinct classes, higher and lower, came to



grief when war began, for all classes mingled in the Forces and as the more thoughtful men went into uniform they protested fiercely against what the BBC gave them, a nonstop parade of dance bands, café orchestras, amateurish revues, and gramophone records. The bulk of the Forces certainly wanted this background noise from the loudspeakers but there was a vociferous minority demanding more meaty radio fare, particularly in the 1940 winter of waiting and watching. Judging by the queries coming in there was a great deal the Forces wanted to know, quite apart from puzzlement at the way the war was being conducted. So the BBC decided to give the more thoughtful and the more bored soldiery half an hour of information. It was felt that the Talks Department would be too sober and dull in its approach, so the assignment was given to Variety Department and I, the newest producer and with a book of general knowledge recently published, was given the job of planning a program.

Between Highbrow and Lowbrow

I HAD always been interested in that middle stratum the BBC seemed to avoid, the millions who were not highbrow and yet wanted something better than lowbrow. My view was that the BBC's job was not only

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to give the public what it wanted but also something better than it thought it wanted. Approaching my new assignment it seemed that the ideal solution was for a soldier to be able to take his question to those experts he would like to have answer it, and then sit with them as they pieced the answer together. Suppose he found himself guest at a dinner along with a number of famous people and he could pluck up courage to put a question which had always been unanswered in his mind. From each person present he would draw some sort of reply, sometimes from expert knowledge, sometimes from personal experience. He might not even get a complete answer to his question, but the workings of his mind would be set in motion; he would be started on the track of finding the answer for himself. That was the kernel of the idea, to bring every man in the Forces into "personal contact" with some of the best brains of the day, and in the most friendly, informal way.

There had to be regular answerers who would become familiar and recognizable to listeners, and three seemed the minimum number. To refresh these and to widen the scope of each program there could be two guest speakers. It seemed necessary to add a generic description, for I wanted my program to be discussed and quoted, so I turned to America for a title that was both popular and descriptive, "The Brains Trust." The chairman I termed the Question Master, and found in Donald McCullough a speaker who could be firm, tactful and witty.

In my choice of the three regular answerers, the real Brains Trust, I was fortunate, for I chanced on the combination that became as familiar and inseparable in British homes as Fibber McGee and Molly are in America. I wanted a brain, a tongue and a heart, and I found them in Julian Huxley, Cyril Joad and Commander A. B. Campbell.

The cool and careful answers of Huxley gave the program some standing in academic circles; the sparkling fluency of Joad astonished, irritated and stimulated millions; the warmth and humanity of globe-trotting Campbell acted as a bridge between the brainier Brains Trusters and the ordinary listener. "Professor" Joad of Birkbeck College became as famous as Winston Churchill. Ministry of Food dishes were named after Joad, women wanted to bear children by him, newspapers offered him dizzy sums to be a columnist, his books sold out of print. Educationists were inclined to scoff at Joad's immense popularity and his playing to the gallery, but undoubtedly Joad proved himself a great teacher, opening new portals of learning and of thought to millions of people who had never realized there was an art in living. Joad shocked many people out of complacent views, and the high-pitched professorial voice must have started many young men and women on new paths through life.

British Will Rogers

CAMPBELL can be compared to Will Rogers, for he had the same quality of linking arms with his audience and making thousands of friends. Campbell became the voice of Britain's man in the street and his commonsense views plus his bottomless well of anecdotes, put him in the Gracie Fields class of popularity.

Huxley and Joad had tiffs and arguments, Campbell shattered their logic with homely thoughts and strange experiences—and the listening audience grew to such an extent that the program which had started on January 1, 1941, for six weeks developed into a 45-minute weekly national habit.

Guests came from everywhere—universities, Government offices, Harley Street, Service Ministries. There was the human encyclopedia Commander Gould, Leslie Howard, Jan Masaryk, Professor Gilbert Murray, Dr. Malcolm Sargent, J. S. B. Haldane, Sir Patrick Hastings, Anna Neagle, Lady Astor, Lord Moran (Churchill's doctor) and dozens more. Visitors from America came into the program, Alexander Woollcott, John Gunther, Helen Kirkpatrick, Kathleen Harriman, Quentin Reynolds and Texan Professor Dobie. Then in June 1943, I introduced the Transatlantic Brains Trust as a monthly feature, with a guest in New York taking part by transatlantic telephone. Beginning with Ralph Ingersoll, we had Dorothy Thompson, Rex Stout, Cornelia Otis Skinner, Jan Struther, Leon Henderson, and best of all Mayor La Guardia. The only guest who failed to turn up at the BBC New York studios was Orson Welles.

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Today, after three years, the Brains Trust still has an audience of millions, although its grip on the public has loosened. Afraid of controversy, the Governors have gradually diluted the program by reducing the appearances of Joad, Huxley and Campbell to only once every three weeks, by engaging guests who will not pronounce startling truths at the microphone, by reducing awkward questions to the minimum, entirely banning religion and soft-pedaling political issues.

But the Brains Trust idea continues, a new and easy way of discussion, a method of airing and sharing ideas. The Brains Trust system of question and answer reduces the barrier between speaker and listener; the man-in-the-street is so much nearer getting up on the platform. The mildly interested and even the unwilling can be attracted, the sugar of entertainment coating the pill of information. Here is a proved method of awakening interest and penetrating indifference.

What the Brains Trust idea has achieved in the confines of British radio it can continue in the world at large—the rousing of minds, the revival of good conversation, the whetting of the appetite for knowledge, the summoning to a full conception of living. The people want to know; here is a way of telling them.

Does the International Who's Who Live on the Moon?

THE 1944 International Who's Who, published by Adam and Charles Black in London, includes a biography of Adolf Hitler which states that he has been the Head of the German States since 1934; Chancellor of the German Reich since 1933; Commander-in-Chief of the fighting forces since 1938. It mentions his birthplace, lists him as a Catholic, remarks that he studied painting and architecture, that he volunteered with the German Army; was wounded, gassed, temporarily blinded, etc.

The flattering "write-up" of Herr Hitler was undoubtedly taken whole-cloth from a German directory published under the National Socialist regime. Not one of the innumerable crimes that Hitler has committed is mentioned—the murders committed all over Europe, the suppression of all freedoms, the tortures and mass-murders, responsibility for World War II.

The volume contains a similar biography of Mussolini, likewise laudatory. It is silent on Quisling, who somehow failed to make the grade as "the outstanding citizen of Norway."

In 1944 Russian, American, British, Canadian, French and other troops are fighting desperately against the most cruel government in history. Thousands of people are being massacred in addition to the millions who have already died. The Underground of Europe is fighting heroically. But the International Who's Who, finds nothing to say but the usual so-called "objective" stuff about Hitler.

We in FREE WORLD have never seen a more ridiculous, abject and unscientific presentation of the career of the greatest murderer of history, and sincerely hope that the Macmillan Company which acts as the American distributor, will use its influence with the British publisher to bring its "biographies" up to date. Until then, the volume is an offense to public opinion and should be excluded from library shelves.

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INTRODUCTION TO FREE WORLD'S ROUND TABLE

By

HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR.

Secretary of the United States Treasury

SOMETIME in the not-too-distant future, God willing, the men of our several nations will have completed their bloody journey to Berlin and Tokyo, and peace will come to our earth. Then we shall enter upon a new era in which all nations of the world can cooperate to *earn* peace and prosperity through the generations to come.

It was disunity among us which imperiled our freedom and gave our enemies the courage to launch their assault against all mankind. We know now that by preserving our unity in battle, we can eventually preserve our freedom and our liberty. The things for which we fight bind us together. They make us a community and they will be preserved as long as that community endures. The community will endure as long as we continue to work in the common interest.

Bretton Woods was an indication that the United Nations will continue to work in the common interest after the war is finished. This round table discussion is typical of the discussions that took place during the days—and most of the nights—of the Conference. They were free discussions, discussions among people of widely varying interests, but with a common goal. And by freely and frankly ironing out our difficulties, we came to sound conclusions, and we came to agreements which are rooted in genuine understanding. None of the nations that sent delegates to Bretton Woods had altogether its own way. Every nation yielded to the others, not in respect to plans or essentials but in respect to methods and details. This is a hopeful and heartening portent of the future.

Perhaps it means that we have learned, as independent nations, that it is senseless to seek the achievement of our aims separately through the planless, senseless rivalry that divided us in the past, or through the outright economic aggression which can only end in war.

The spirit shown at the Bretton Woods Conference gives us reason to hope that this time we will win the peace as well as the war.

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A MONEY PLAN
FOR
WORLD PEACE AND PLENTY

IT would be too much to suppose that the men who talked about money in a new and free world at Bretton Woods had struck at the root of all evil or that they had solved the world's monetary problems in one fell swoop. Yet when one surveys the results of this conference, which had pushed through an agreement among forty-four nations for an international currency-stabilization Fund and a World Bank, one is forced to the realization that nothing short of the word "revolutionary" would aptly convey the true import of what had transpired.

The impact of Bretton Woods on the lives of all who dwell on this planet may be felt tomorrow and for generations to come. Historians may point to basic decisions reached there and call them the keystone of a new world, made strong against the greed, the economic royalism, the militant protectionism, which gave way to international cooperation and a recognition that—just as the war on fascist aggression was indivisible—the battle against national poverty and individual unemployment was equally indivisible.

The agreement of Bretton Woods, if it does nothing else, traces the general picture of the route we are to travel and shows quite clearly that the world is no longer to be lured down any of those blind alleys favored by large, and regrettably, influential interests. It is hoped that henceforth no government will tolerate the gambling in foreign currencies which took place between 1936 and 1939; that protectionism and bilateral-barter agreements to secure export trade against any unavoidable import will gradually disappear.

The ordinary man has a pretty important stake in these things. His very existence is bound up with the decisions of the Bretton Woods delegates, which must now be ratified by their governments. We could visualize the whole plan, linked with all its purposes and policies to the Destiny of Mr. Average Man's International monetary cooperation which facilitated expansion of trade, which in turn contributed to employment, thus bringing about higher standards of living, national contentment, security and peace. An indestructible chain made up of strong and powerful links.

Boiling it down to Mr. Average Man's conception, one could say that he looks on money simply, and with simplicity, as being just what it is supposed to be—an instrument to buy things with. He hopes also that he can possess it without too much fluctuation in value.

On all other related questions the plain man has never seen eye to eye with the economists. Traditional economic thought has always emphasized that to secure the highest standard of living, goods must be produced at the cheapest cost. It has welcomed inventions and cheap imports—all the things which make for low prices—even though these put high-cost producers out of business. The plain man, on the

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contrary, has always been more concerned with the fact that the man thrown out of a job may not readily find one. More money, not more goods, has always been his cry. But the bar to more money has always been the fear of inflation, the failure to distinguish between true inflation and the monetary expansion needed to secure full employment.

This is what interests our plain man about Bretton Woods. If a group of the world's money experts are able to agree on a way to keep this money of his on an even keel, enabling him to buy and sell with confidence, he will be contented. If it brings about a stability which insures him a job, he will be twice contented.

It's going to be harder than ever from now on to convince our plain man, and especially the demobilized soldier, that a nation cannot afford that which its own labor can create out of the raw materials available to it. War expenditure in the remembered light of prewar "economy" has made him revise his economic notions. No statesman will get much support who argues that the community cannot "afford" this or that, so long as men willing and able to satisfy such needs are prevented by financial considerations from working. It is so obvious that a nation's present capacity to create wealth in the shape of planes, guns, tanks and ships is conditioned only by its supply of labor and raw materials that the same argument is, rightly or wrongly, applied to postwar production. If the returning soldier-worker is to have anything to say in tomorrow's new world, our economists and financiers will adapt themselves to his simple logic. At Bretton Woods they took a mighty long stride in that direction.

FREE WORLD MAGAZINE, *in view of the importance of this, as of other United Nations Conferences, sent associate editor Laura Vitray to Bretton Woods to organize a round table of representative experts gathered there, so that readers of the magazine might hear from them in the very setting in which the meeting was held.*

Informally, around a luncheon table, in a small dining room of the great hotel that housed the conferees, these eight men sat down to talk of their labors. From the window, as they chatted, they could view the lofty, mist-crowned peak of Mount Washington. Though they were men from many lands, they joined in conversation as naturally, with as kindly a spirit of give and take, as if they had been neighbors all their lives. In that, they offer a symbol for the rebuilding of the world.

Dr. Harry D. White, Assistant to the Secretary of the United States Treasury, and one of those actively responsible for the Monetary Plan that was agreed on at Bretton Woods, presided at the FREE WORLD *Round Table. Other participants, all delegates to the Monetary Conference, were Mr. Ting-fu F. Tsiang, Chief Political Secretary of Executive Yuan, China; Mr. Luis Machado, lawyer and economist, Cuba; Mr. Ladislav Feierabend, Minister of Finance, Czechoslovakia; Mr. Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen, Minister from Ethiopia to the United States; Mr. André Istel, Financial Counselor to the Provisional French Government; Mr. Walter Nash, Minister of Finance of New Zealand to the United States; and Mr. Lionel Robbins, official of the United Kingdom War Cabinet Offices.*

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ROUND TABLE No. 26

HARRY D. WHITE—The United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference now meeting at Bretton Woods is the outcome of prolonged discussion among the experts of the various countries on their common monetary problems. The Conference no less than these preliminary discussions has been marked by the determination with which the delegates have approached their task of devising the framework of international monetary cooperation so essential to world peace and prosperity. International conferences in the past have not always been the most sociable of gatherings. Conferences on monetary subjects have usually been particularly acrimonious. Mr. Nash, you have represented New Zealand at many international conferences in the past. What is your impression of the atmosphere prevailing in Bretton Woods?

Walter Nash—Dr. White, I think I have never before attended a Conference where the spirit of the delegates was more completely cooperative than it has been at this one.

White—That is the way I have been impressed.

Dr. Tsiang, you have taken part in many international conferences. What do you regard as the dominant characteristic or dominant spirit of this Conference as contrasted with others which you have attended?

Tingfu F. Tsiang—Well, the first characteristic of the Conference is the absence of indulgence in oratory. At the Washington Conference Viviani, Briand, Balfour and Lodge treated the conferees to long polished speeches. In contrast, the Conference here may be called a business conference. Secondly, the Conference is marked by a large measure of what might be called disinterested interest in a common enterprise. We have had of course debates motivated by national interest, but I think I am right in saying that we have had even more argumentation on points which do not affect national interest one way or another but affect what the delegates consider the success of the Fund. This "disinterested interest" is one of the things that have been most evident and most inspiring here at Bretton Woods.

White—That is certainly true, Dr. Tsiang. At the same time, I'm sure we all

ESSENTIAL FINDINGS

1

One reason why the Versailles Conference failed to prevent a second World War was that its approach to world settlements was political. It did not attempt to explore or correct the economic causes of war.

2

Dictatorship and aggression thrive on hunger. The Bretton Woods agreement of 44 nations to set up an International Stabilization Fund and a World Bank, aims at eliminating economic poverty, through development of agriculture and industry of member countries and stimulation of international trade.

3

Stable currencies are needed to give confidence to investors in postwar reconstruction. The Fund will keep currency values fixed, preventing disastrous monetary speculation and inflations.

4

A World Bank, to insure investment risks and make loans when necessary, is a major guarantee against world-wide postwar depression and unemployment. Through the Bank, the investment risks of reconstruction are shared by many nations, though most of the capital must be furnished by the great powers.

5

Even a large and wealthy nation can only prosper if prosperity is general. Increased prosperity in backward or undeveloped countries opens up new sources of supply and new markets for great industrial nations like the United States.

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like to feel that our deliberations will make possible increased prosperity after this war throughout the world. All countries have a stake in the success of this Conference, and particularly those whose standards of living have not yet caught up with the industrially advanced countries. For instance, China. Do you feel that the establishment of the Monetary Fund and the Bank for Reconstruction and Development would be helpful to your country?

Tsiang—There can be no question about this. The Fund will help us to develop our international trade and the Bank will be most helpful in the development of our national resources. Together the two institutions can contribute greatly to raising the standard of living in China and to solving our problem of poverty, and in turn make China a large market for the products of other countries.

White—Mr. Feierabend, as Finance Minister of a country that had been occupied so long by the enemy and that is about to be liberated, won't you tell us what in your judgment the establishment of two such agencies as the Monetary Fund and the Bank of Reconstruction and Development can mean in the rebuilding of your country's economy.

Ladislav Feierabend—First, I should like to say that in our opinion the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction are pillars of the future peace. A lasting peace cannot be based—it seems to me—merely on a written paper agreement. Lasting peace requires certain permanent international institutions which shall be able to settle all differences that may arise in the future. We Czechoslovaks, especially, have had a very bitter experience, in that our peace and our independence were not secured even though based on the League of Nations. We have had an opportunity to learn that political organizations are not in themselves adequate for maintaining a lasting peace. We recognize that besides political, economic organizations must be established. And now, as for this Conference, we are sure that the Fund and the Bank will have a prominent place in promoting the peace of the world, and that these two institutions will enable our country to make a new beginning of her economic life.

Permanent Peace Must Be Founded on an Economic as Well as Political Basis

One day we will come back to our homeland and will find our shops and our households robbed and pillaged to the last crumb. We will be in great need of a helping hand.

Besides the assistance which we will receive from UNRRA, we will have to import machinery, raw materials and other essential commodities in an effort to feed, clothe and productively employ our population and inspire it with the hope of a rising standard of living. Even though we would like to compensate for all this with the proceeds of our labor, we will not be able to start exporting immediately. We will be—contrary to our past—for several years a country with a passive balance of payment. In this period we will need to have help.

White—How do you see the Fund and the Bank as helping, Mr. Feierabend?

Feierabend—The International Monetary Fund will accept our currency at the parity which will be agreed upon and will supply us with foreign currencies in the amount determined by its constitution. By so doing, it will eliminate fluctuations in the rate of exchange of our currency, which would certainly develop if the law of supply and demand had its free course. Thus it will contribute to the stability of

Harry D. White

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our new Czechoslovak koruna. It will also strengthen the confidence of our industrious and thrifty people in a speedy recovery of our economy which in the past enjoyed the reputation of being very sound and well organized.

Reconstruction loans which will be made available for us by the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development will enable us to overcome the passive balance of payment without having to introduce drastic measures curtailing our imports, so harmful to the orderly development of international trade.

International assistance given in this way to the weaker members will have a beneficial repercussion in the economies of the more fortunate countries as well. It will enable them to maintain their production and employment on a high level, the requisites of a prosperous society.

I am convinced that Czechoslovakia with this international help will soon shake off her difficulties and then—we hope—will be able to help others. It is needless to stress that Czechoslovakia fully appreciates the great importance of the institutions which are being founded at this Conference.

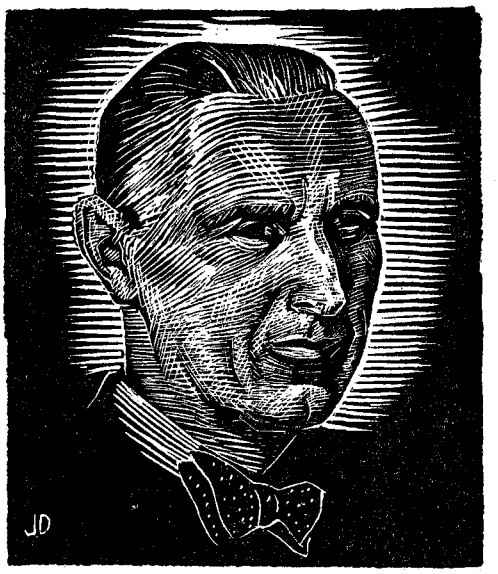
White—Mr. Minister, do the people in your country now know anything about the holding of these conferences?

Feierabend – Indeed yes. They are informed six times every day from London and I do not know how many times from here.

White—Is there any indication that they are keenly interested?

Feierabend—I am sure of it. I myself have already made five broadcasts about the Fund and the Bank to my country and we know that we are being heard. When I was in Czechoslovakia—and I remained there ten months after the German occupation—I listened to London and Paris every day, although I risked the death penalty for doing so. Everybody did it. Therefore, today, I know that our people are informed about what we are doing here. They cannot be deceived by the speech that Minister Funk made in Koenigsberg. They know what is being done.

White – Mr. Medhen, your country, Ethiopia, is one about which people here in the United States know little. It would



Ladislav Feierabend

be interesting to many Americans, I feel sure, to hear whether you think the Bank could be of any significant assistance in the development of Ethiopia.

Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen—It is undoubtedly true as you say, that my country is not well known in the United States. The very fact that it will be better known through this Monetary Conference is already a contribution. Yesterday, while out for a stroll, I entered a shop near here to buy a few souvenirs. The storekeeper looked at my card and saw that I was from Ethiopia. He said, "That is what war means! I didn't even know that there was such a country as Ethiopia."

I think this great International Monetary Fund and the International Bank, in addition to other facilities they give, will contribute to the task of bringing the nations together. Probably the greatest accomplishment we can expect from the Fund and the Bank will be the tremendous amount of information which it will accumulate. This will enable particularly the business men of all nations to become acquainted with business conditions, standards of living and production in other countries of the world. Such knowledge will undoubtedly lead to better understanding and greater friendship between nations.

During the first years after its establishment the Fund and the Bank will be of

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great value to Ethiopia, during the period in which she is restoring and rehabilitating the country from the ravages of six years of war, and adjusting her economy to post-war conditions. To give one instance, Ethiopia is at present producing large quantities of grain and is exporting a considerable surplus for the war effort of the United Nations. However, she expects that in the postwar world she will be unable to compete with the great grain-producing nations because of the lack of modern means of transportation within the country. Therefore, there will be a period of agricultural adjustment within the country during which it will be necessary for Ethiopia to use facilities offered by the Stabilization Fund. Ethiopia has large possibilities of development as she possesses great agricultural as well as mineral wealth which have remained undeveloped principally for lack of funds. It is hoped that the Bank will be of tremendous help in the development of these resources and modern transportation facilities. Furthermore, some of the main threats to trade in the past have been factors such as uncertainty in exchange rates and other methods undertaken by different countries to push their national interest, regardless of collective economic welfare. We feel that an institution of this kind will remedy the situation, thereby promoting political as well as economic stability and security. We therefore highly appreciate the initiative taken by those nations which have made this conference possible.

Ethiopia Has Important Undeveloped Resources In Minerals, Agriculture

White – Is it your judgment that the Italian war with Ethiopia is the chief factor that has brought to the attention of the American people the existence of Ethiopia? If so, maybe one of your postwar projects should be to borrow some money to raise a statue to His Royal Highness Mussolini! How about it, Mr. Nash, do you think the Bank would endorse such a project?

Luis Machado—It's the other way around —we came to know Italy better because of Ethiopia!

Nash—I'm afraid the Bank couldn't lend money for a statue of Mussolini! But Ethiopia would be better known if Mr. Medhen called it Abyssinia.

White—Is there any preference in your country, Mr. Medhen?

Medhen—As between Ethiopia and Abyssinia?

White—Yes.

Medhen – There is, because the word "Ethiopia," if you remember is used in the Bible.

Nash—Yes, that's right!

Medhen – It is older than the word "Abyssinia." It is the classic name, that is why we prefer it.

White—You say that Ethiopia is mentioned in the Bible?

Medhen—Yes, as a matter of fact it is mentioned several times.

Machado—There are a lot of sinners mentioned in the Bible. But some of the worst ones lived too late to be included. Mussolini, for instance.

Nash—Yes, if you had told that storekeeper you came from Abyssinia the chances are he would have said, "That's where Mussolini made his first mistake!" Abyssinia was the one country which from '35 to '38 was more talked of than all the rest of the world put together.

White—That's right. But I'm inclined to think Mussolini's first mistake was to select an Italian mother. If he had selected an English mother he would have been unheard of! (*Laughter.*) Mr. Nash, your country is one of the great trading countries of

Blatta Ephrem Tewelde Medhen

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the world, am I correct? A small but great trading country?

Nash—That is a wise way to start a conversation with anyone, Mr. Chairman.

White—One from New Zealand, you mean.

Nash—Yes, I think it is. New Zealand has the greatest per capita trade of any country in the world. We have the largest export of dairy produce in the world and we are the fourth largest exporter of wool in the world. We ship abroad 44 per cent of our production.

White—In view of the fact that your country does depend so largely upon foreign trade, do you feel that the International Monetary Fund would be of especial interest to your countrymen?

Nash—It could be helpful in overcoming crises. In ordinary times, I think that the major objective of a country like ours should be *not to use* the Fund. However, when circumstances arise like the events of '29 and '30, it is a great thing for a country like New Zealand, finding its income cut by 25 per cent in one year, to have somewhere to turn to insure that it may keep its name honorable and good, without having to borrow money in a poor market.

White—That is one of the direct benefits. In addition, I suppose you share with the United States and other countries the indirect benefits that flow from a generally higher level of world trade and greater prospects of peace?

Nash—Yes. We had one discussion the other night that touched on that important fact. A delegate was saying, about as I just said: "We don't want to draw on the Fund; we have plenty of money." But the answer, very reasonably made to that delegate, and very strongly affirmed, was, "You may not need the money, because you are so well off comparatively—but unless these other nations get it you won't continue to be well off. In a period that may not be long, a decade perhaps, you will need money too, unless these others get enough to develop their resources, so as to maintain their position, upon which yours and the positions of other countries depend. In the long run, upon which we all depend.

White—Professor Robbins, do you feel that if the people of the United Kingdom

Walter Nash

—as the people of countries of other men around this table—really understood what the Fund and the Bank were for and how they could establish it—do you feel that they would be strong supporters of the establishment of those institutions?

Lionel Robbins—I don't think there could be any doubt that our people and all others have very much to gain both in the economic and political sphere from the setting up of institutions with the general objectives which we have in mind. And I believe popular interest in such a step is greater now than it ever has been. We have always been immensely interested in stable conditions of world trade. But, of course, as a result of the war, our need for stability in world trade and ample elbow room in international markets has increased. As you know, part of the United Kingdom's contribution to the war has consisted in sacrifices on a very massive scale of those external assets which in the past were deemed to be essential to our equilibrium. We have incurred very considerable liabilities; and for many years after the war we shall be under the necessity of making special efforts in order to pay our way and to maintain our financial tradition. I am sure we can do that. I do not share the gloomy views which are sometimes expressed about our position in

Britain Requires Postwar Trade Relations to Help Her Rebuild Her Finances

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the world. But I am sure it will be vastly more difficult for us if the monetary conditions of the world dissolve into a state of disorder, depreciation and general chaos, such as existed so frequently in the period between the two wars. Hence our need for something which will prevent this.

White—Do you think that the average person understands the necessity for having institutions which will prevent that kind of monetary disruption which occurred after the last war and is likely to occur after this war, or do you think it is only bankers and possibly some exporters and economists who have any appreciation of the urgency of the situation?

Robbins—I never quite know what the average man does understand. But I am sure if the problem were put to him in simple language he would be in sympathy with our general objectives—whatever he or his representatives may have to say about the special plans which we propose for carrying them out. If you said to him, "Don't you think it would have helped in the inter-war period if there had been an institution that provided for maintenance of co-operative exchange arrangements—that provided for stability in normal times and orderly change if change was needed?"—I am quite sure he would say, "Yes." And he would agree that if in 1917 and 1918 a Monetary Conference such as this one had taken place and had been successful, it might have helped avert the gloomy and depressing history of the '20's and the '30's. That seems to me an immensely strong argument. I don't think there is an answer to it.

There is another point I should like to make, Dr. White. As I have said, our first interest in this connection is in orderly trade conditions. In the avoidance of economic warfare. But, of course, as you know, we have in recent years become more and more concerned with the problem of economic security and in the problem of the maintenance of a high level of employment. For a country in our position, such objectives cannot be achieved unless there are fairly brisk conditions of employment and trade throughout the world.

Now many of us think that it is going to be extremely difficult to get those brisk conditions of trade and employment throughout the world unless there is some apparatus for facilitating international investments. With all the distortions and strains to which our world economy has been subjected the last ten years, there is a real danger that international investment may hang fire, and there is a real danger therefore that serious structural disequilibrium may be precipitated with very damaging results for a long period of time.

Investment Capital May Hang Fire Unless Needed Guarantees Are Offered

That is why I personally attach special importance to the completion of our labors with regard to the Bank. The Bank and the Fund seem to me to hang together. They are complements one of the other. We must have the Fund first in order to provide some sort of prospect of stability. But the work of the Fund will not be so easy unless it is supplemented by a Bank; and together they can bring benefits far greater than the sum of the benefits that would accrue if either existed without the other.

White—I suppose the people of England realize that what is being considered here and formulated are two separate institutions, one the Fund, and one the Bank?

Robbins—Well, I have not been at home since our deliberations started. My suspicion is that hitherto interest has focused chiefly on the Fund, with its concern with

André Istel

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orderly exchange arrangements and mobilization of short-term credit; there has been much less discussion of the project about the Bank. But I am quite sure that the project of a Bank is one which will receive an especially sympathetic reception when it is explained, because the Bank fills a gap that a great many people felt to exist when they were examining the project for the Fund in isolation.

White—Mr. Istel, do you think that if an institution comparable to the proposed Monetary Fund had existed in the years 1934 to 1938, France might not have had the very serious monetary trouble it did experience in those years?

Andre Istel — The serious monetary troubles of France during these years were, I think, the consequence of a faulty financial policy pursued between 1932 and 1936. French monetary authorities attempted to adhere blindly to a gold parity that had been fixed before the devaluation of the pound in 1931 and of the dollar in 1933. Whether Great Britain first, the United States later, were right or wrong when they changed the price of gold is not the point in question—French monetary authorities did not realize that stability of industry, agriculture, trade and employment was directly related to stability of rates of exchange with the sterling area and also with the dollar area. They were convinced that gold parity was more important than exchange parity. At the time when French military authorities rebuffed Colonel de Gaulle because he believed that tanks and aviation were more important than old-fashioned weapons, French monetary authorities rebuffed Paul Reynaud and myself because we believed that sound economy was more important than orthodox finance.

If there had been at that time an international organization, it would have exerted pressure on French monetary authorities for maintaining stable exchange relations with the leading currencies. Thus France would probably have avoided, at least in part, the protracted economic depression which lasted all through 1934 to 1936, while other countries were already on the road to recovery; when France made in 1936 a monetary adjustment, it became a monetary disruption.

White—That monetary disruption must have contributed to the failure of France to be better prepared for the war.

Istel—This is unfortunately quite true. One consequence of that monetary disruption was a great public dissatisfaction, which had a widespread political influence and caused several changes of our government. Thus political instability was due in part to the economic sufferings of the people. In turn, that political instability increased the economic suffering and decreased the efficiency of production. As a result France was not prepared to make a swift conversion of its industries to war production, which contributed severely to France's initial defeat.

And now after this war France is facing a new set of decisions that will affect her economic life and her prosperity. Due to my recent conversations in London and Algiers with French underground leaders, I think I understand the new French mentality: the people are tired of old conceptions. In the monetary field, as well as in other fields, the French people today want something new. They have the feeling that there has been in the world a revolutionary change in methods of production and of transportation but that methods of distribution and of financing have by no means kept pace. They are convinced that something new must happen in these fields also. Accordingly, the fact that forty-four United Nations are holding a monetary conference for the purpose of trying to find new solutions will certainly make a deep impression in France.

French People Are Eager For a Modern Approach To Distribution, Finance

White—Do you agree with me that the institution of the Fund and the Bank will not only serve the purpose of increasing the level of world trade and of stabilizing monetary systems, but that it is no exaggeration to say it will make a substantial contribution toward maintenance of peace during the coming years?

Istel—I believe that the maintenance of peace is related directly with the economic well-being of the people. Of course, German and Japanese militarisms were among the chief causes of war, but it is improbable that the German militarists could have gained power if it had not been for the

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economic suffering of the German population. I am convinced, and so are the majority of the French people, that an action taken internationally to promote world trade and prosperity, will be one of the best steps which can be taken toward maintaining peace.

White—Mr. Machado, Cuba is in excellent financial condition now, isn't it?

Machado—It depends which side of the ledger you look at, sir. But I was quite interested in the last remark made by my dear colleague, Mr. Istel, of France. I think he has stated a great truth. This meeting at Bretton Woods reminds me of twenty-five years ago when, as a young member of the Secretariat of the Cuban Delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference, I was privileged to witness the wind-up of the first World War. In those days the problems confronting our people were very much the same as the problems of today and our main concern was not only to win the war but to try to win the peace.

I believe that the reason why the world was not stabilized in those days was that we had an entirely different approach to the subject. Our main concern in Versailles was not only to put military conditions on a defeated enemy but to prevent new world wars. For that purpose a new institution was created, the League of Nations. Unfortunately, the League of Nations, although it has accomplished a lot of good, did not accomplish all the good that we expected from it.

I would say that the main reason for that is that in trying to preserve peace in the world we had a political approach to the problem. We failed to approach it from the economic side. We did not realize then that behind every political problem there is an economic problem.

Dictatorship Indicates That a Nation's Economic Problems Remain Unsolved

I come from an area where dictatorships often abound, and we know that wherever there is a dictatorship there is a fundamental economic problem. By not having taken care of the economic problems of the world in 1919, we have had to go through a second World War. I believe that the Conference at Bretton Woods may perhaps be able to render a real service to humanity by averting a third World War.

In approaching the economic problems, we are beginning to realize several things. One of them is that no country can ever be financially sound if its neighbor is not also financially sound. That was the case of France in 1932 and in 1936. France had all the gold of Europe but her neighbors did not have the gold, and eventually France found out that its gold was no good unless its neighbors were in a prosperous condition. We have the same situation now. We cannot be prosperous in an impoverished world. We may be for a few days or a few months or a few years, but not forever. In trying to solve the economic problems I believe that we now have found the right approach.

First of all, we want to establish monetary stability. In the last World War the currencies of the vanquished countries disappeared, but soon we found out that the victorious nations' currencies also began to fade away and disappear. We had first the devaluation of the French franc, then we had the devaluation of the Belgian franc and of all the currencies of Europe, including the pound sterling. Eventually, even the United States with its powerful resources had to devaluate its dollars and come to the present gold ratio of the dollar, while all the Latin American countries were obliged to follow suit.

With the establishment of the Monetary Fund, we hope to arrive at a sound or stabilized monetary system that will prevent a recurrence of the economic experience of the first World War. Then the Bank, which will enable the reconstruction of Europe during the first years and subsequently the further development of all the natural resources of the undeveloped countries will become another stabilizing factor in our economic field.

We in Latin America have had a hard time explaining to our countrymen why we should participate in a bank. It is very difficult to convince a man who is not entirely satisfied with his water service or the condition of his roads or the condition of his agriculture or his industry, that he should contribute to reconstruct a torn-up Europe. We believe, however, that the world is not going to be financially sound

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until Europe and Asia get back on their feet again and become again centers of production and centers of consumption. An impoverished Europe cannot buy any of the staple commodities that we produce for sale. A contented and rich client is after all the best asset of any business firm.

We feel, however, that the measures taken at Bretton Woods would be entirely incomplete in getting the world to a stable economic basis, unless another conference is called to discuss other matters that cannot and have not been taken up at Bretton Woods. We hope for a further contribution to the economic stability of the world through studying to what point we can now reduce trade barriers, stabilize markets, create stability in world prices and enable countries like New Zealand in the Pacific and the Latin American nations in the Atlantic to place their production and strengthen their economies. We do not want to be prosperous one day and "broke" the next. Until we get together and find some formula that will guarantee economic stability we will not really have solved the basic political question of how to avoid a third World War.

Trade Parley Is Needed to Complete Work Begun By Monetary Conference

White—Don't you feel, Mr. Machado, that one of the first steps is the one we are taking, namely, to assure monetary stability and an adequate flow of capital to countries that need it?

Machado—I would say that that constitutes about 50 per cent of the measures to be taken toward permanent peace. Unquestionably the purchasing power of the dollar, the franc or the pound sterling that you have in your pocket determines to a great extent the stability of all our economies. What I meant to point out is that the Fund and the Bank alone cannot solve the problem unless we also tackle the third big issue which was not at all pursued at the Versailles Peace Conference, namely, economic stability for international trade.

Istel—Yes, that is a necessary condition for maintaining peace, though not a sufficient one.

Nash—I agree with you. Although it is not linked *directly* with the activities of the

Tingfu F. Tsiang

proposed International Monetary Fund, the balanced growth of international trade and the promotion of full employment and higher real incomes must be the essential underlying objective of monetary and of all other international economic policy both now and in the future. For this reason I think we cannot overemphasize that purpose of the Fund which is stated in Clause 2 of Article I.

White—Do you have it there, Mr. Nash?

Nash—Yes, it reads, "to facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade, and to contribute thereby to the promotion and maintenance of high levels of employment and real income and to the development of the productive resources of all members as primary objectives of economic policy." International trade is only useful insofar as it contributes in this country, in my country, and in every country, toward the maintenance of full employment. Full employment in itself is only worthwhile if it means, in terms of food, clothing, housing, social services, higher real incomes for the people as a whole.

White—I am sure we would all agree to that.

Nash—I think this is one thing we ought to stress. There is only one objective in life and that is for the average person to live healthily and as long as possible. As I see it, it is impossible for one person

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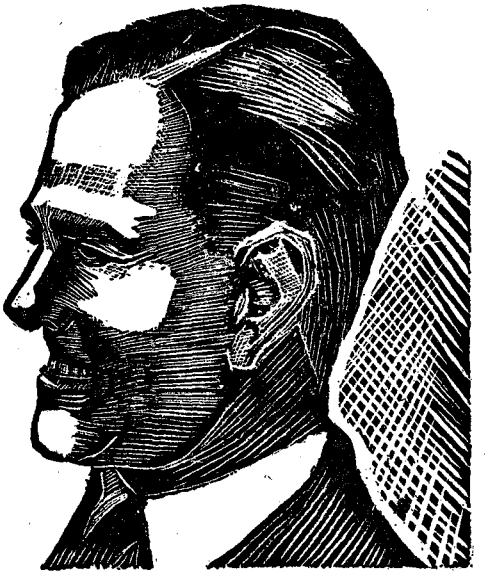
to live healthily, unless he takes all steps within his power to insure that everybody else has a chance to live healthily and as long as possible. That means production. The objective is to get production in the form of commodities that are necessary to enable all the people to live healthily. There, to me, is where the Fund is likely to make its greatest contribution inside its stabilization field, and in the closely related fields, such as employment, that Mr. Robbins is always emphasizing. It could do more, I should say, than any other single thing that has yet been tried in history. If I measure it rightly, there is likely to be nearly 8 billion dollars of credit available for the purpose not only of stabilization but also of restoration and development. There will follow a gradual expansion of trade and exchange of commodities that would not have happened if this Fund had not been brought into being. Of course, the remedy for our economic ills might have taken some other form, but with fear everywhere. Without the Bank as well as the Monetary Fund, investors would be full of fear as to whether they were going to get back what they were lending and get something for the money that they were providing. The Fund, as I see it, tends to bring into being a volume of credit that will so stimulate production and expand trade that the first objective—of getting back what is lent—will be more quickly realized. Whether it takes a decade or a generation does not matter for the time being. Alongside that, there is also the point stressed by Mr. Machado, that we can talk as much as we like about power politics and guns and planes and all the other things, but if people are hungry there will be war. So long as people are hungry, there is sure to be war. It is not only, then, a matter of determining of credit. There is a secondary objective—secondary in sequence but not in importance—that of finding a way of distributing the goods we produce, after we have used the credit to bring it into being. The first step is to find a way to get over to the minds of all peoples the idea that the countries represented at this Conference have agreed to put up their currencies in one form or another, so that they can be used by other countries. That in the long run will mean a terrific load off those Nations that have the productive capacity which the others haven't got. By this means we shall get expanded trade. But that in its turn will not have the good effect it could have, unless we likewise have national policies and systems *inside* our countries which will ensure that people are not going to be hungry. There is not only a relationship of country to country, but a relative status of individuals inside each country that must be cared for. This Monetary Fund will help the nations take a longer step toward that objective too, than has been taken throughout all recorded history.

Fund Will Provide Credit to Stimulate Expansion of Production and Trade

White—In other words, Mr. Nash, your thought might be that without, shall we say, a prosperous and growing stability in international economic relations it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to attain the ultimate objective of prosperity and well-being at home?

Nash—It would be impossible. Even your prosperity in this amazing country, the United States, is menaced and cannot be maintained unless you find a way of transmitting some of that prosperity to other countries.

White—I agree with you. It is my hope that the creation of the Bank, as well as the Fund, will help accomplish the result



Luis Machado

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of insuring my nation's prosperity through insuring prosperity to all nations.

Nash—Well, you know, when credit was first thought of it was helpful. Unfortunately, it became a menace because of the onerous nature of the terms. This new monetary plan would provide bulk credit, in effect, to enable countries to move along the road toward productivity, as they could not otherwise do. If that power is utilized so that every nation has a chance to develop its resources, the whole world will benefit, not any one country alone.

Istel—Mr. Nash, is there not a danger that if we look merely at the internal possibilities of the various countries, establishing measures to maintain full employment inside each one, some kind of autarchy may arise within nations? Must we not at the same time take measures to have current transactions facilitated between the countries?

Nash—I would agree entirely.

Istel—That is, the Fund and the Bank.

Nash—Extremely useful.

Istel—We must prevent conditions from arising in the world today, as a result of unwise national or international policies, which might lead to autarchy.

Nash—The important point is this: neither a large country like the United States, nor a small country like New Zealand, nor the British Commonwealth, can maintain its prosperity by its own rules. We must all come together as countries and say "Here is what we are doing internally; we will coordinate it with the policy of other nations in order to seek with them prosperity and peace." Only if national processes are coordinated with international processes will there be hope for any of us in the postwar world.

White—One thing has emerged clearly from the discussion. Benjamin Franklin, that great American and internationalist, said: "We must hang together, or we will hang separately." What was true of the separate states of America in the eighteenth century is now true of the world. At least 50 per cent of our political problems will be solved if we can take the necessary steps to ensure employment and rising standards of living for our peoples. This Conference vividly illustrates the fact that the United Nations all realize that these goals can only

Lionel Robbins

be attained by international cooperation. The autarchic approach by which one country attempts to ensure prosperity within its own borders at the expense of other countries has been tried by the Axis powers and found wanting. Prosperity in one country can be attained, and once attained maintained, only if other countries are prosperous too.

International collaboration in the monetary and investment sphere is the first, most important and most difficult step in the path of international cooperation. Representatives of various countries here have told us how vital such cooperation is to the protection of their individual interests. They have made it clear that their domestic economic interests are inextricably interwoven with international monetary stability and a revival of international investment which together will promote a balanced growth of world trade and employment. They have each subscribed to the guiding tenet of this Conference, namely, that prosperity like peace is indivisible. The Bretton Woods Conference is creating appropriate and effective instruments for implementing the United Nations' determination to work together in the monetary and investment spheres. It is thereby registering a decisive advance toward the achievement of our goals of political and economic security and of expanding living standards.

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London Letter

BRITISH UNIONS: *How Far they Control the Labor Party*

By
MARY SEATON

With victory near, Britain's labor union leaders face a big decision on whether to continue their coalition with Capital or move to renew their early challenge to it.

BRITISH trade unions, like those in America, have been tremendously strengthened during war—in membership, finances and national prestige. But the spectacle now troubling British socialists is that the unions' political Left arm—the Labor Party—is weakening while the body grows stronger. They ask: Will the body reach out a Right arm in collaborationist friendship with capitalism or can the Left arm regain its vigor in time to prevent the whole framework from degenerating into a partnership in a corporate state?

British trade unions have never, as you know, shared the prejudice against politics possessed by some of their opposite numbers in America. Unionism here has its roots deep in the struggle for social and political advancement. It has grown empirically and its currents even today spring from the turbulence, the misery, the victimization and the dreams of the workers in the late eighteenth century when the industrial revolution first gathered momentum.

There have been two main influences on trade unions here. First, Britain led the world in factory development, and unionism in its growth reflected this diversity and skill. Second, its treatment from Parliament: the Combination Act in 1799 turned unionists into criminals and it was its repeal in 1824-25, the Free Trade Movement, the Factory Acts and gradually widening franchise which led unions to develop and merge with their present political Left arm.

After the great depression of 1884-85 unions took a leap forward into the political sphere. Those great crusaders John Burns, Ben Tillett, Tom Mann, Keir Hardie and Hyndman were on the march. The unions tramped after them, still mainly concerned with bettering immediate conditions but also supporting the challenge these men leveled against capitalism.

By 1913 they were strong and militant. In July 1914 there was even the suggestion of combined working class action to make war impossible. But this vast measure was beyond the strength of international trade unions and those in Britain tackled instead their war problems.

They demanded—and got—a Ministry of Labor. They groped their way forward and despite the emergence of "unofficial movements"—the fruits of the frustration caused by tory blanketing of workers' demands through their established unions—they emerged more united and infinitely stronger. The reorganization of the Trade Union Congress in 1921 was one result.

The collapse of the General Strike in the mid-twenties is said to have taught the present leaders that they achieve more by infiltration than by direct challenge.

In this war there was no whisper of unions considering an anti-war policy. Their bitterness at what their colleagues in Germany and Italy had suffered made them

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adamant: fascism must be crushed. Therefore they embarked, politically and practically, upon the course of coalition and have stuck by the bargain honorably.

Now, with victory in sight, British unions, collectively and individually, are considering what their next step will be. There are secret conferences among the leaders. There is much conjecture among politically minded members. The big question—as I said in my first paragraph—is whether unionism will resurrect its old challenge to capitalism or continue in an amiable coalition with it.

The Labor Party

THE Labor Party, first formed in 1900, is pledged to fight for socialism. Those who believe that war is part of a world revolution against all forms of fascism claim that by entering the coalition it has already in war lost its chance in peace. Its individual membership has been declining while two-year old Common Wealth and the Communist Party are growing. The truce almost killed the Liberal Party in the last war. Progressives are fearing that it has fatally weakened the Labor Party in this one. For instance Herbert Morrison, Laborite Home Secretary, in a recent article advocated piecemeal rather than out-and-out socialism, which he considers administratively impracticable. The individual members, still fired by the ideals of the early pioneers, are becoming restive and suspicious of their leadership and resentful of the unions' increasing influence.

In Transport House—Labor's London headquarters—there are over seventy people who are well-paid and work regular hours. A local Labor Party chairman in a Lancashire cotton town—an ex-weaver with white hair, blazing blue eyes and beliefs which have twice landed him in jail for "agitation"—recently said to me: "They're getting too comfortable and forgetting what's put them there—the will of us common folk to get rid of this system." This is harsh, for the seventy certainly work hard. But this opinion can be heard in many towns where Labor is not yet dormant.

The ex-weaver added: "And then there's the unions. Not much we can do, against the bloc votes of the union, I suppose."

How influential, exactly, are the unions and what are they likely to do? Here is my analysis:

The Unions and the Labor Party

AFFILIATED with the Labor Party are 69 of Britain's 976 unions. Of the total membership, which was 7,781,000 in 1942, the Party claims only 2,453,000. In other words, two thirds of our union members are unpolitical, Conservative, Liberal or Left but not signed-up Labor.

Union leadership can be divided roughly into three groups:

The Right Wing: Those who believe their job is merely that of getting workers a greater share in controlling capitalist industry. This includes Sir Walter Citrine, T.U.C. Chief, Charles Dukes, Arthur Deakin and others representing in all perhaps 1,800,000 workers. They are for postwar coalition and with the exception perhaps of Citrine are pro-Vansittart.

The Center: Those who might be induced to agree to a postwar coalition though they now oppose the suggestion and who are active in bringing Left pressure. This includes Jack Tanner of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, Will Lawther of the Mineworkers' Federation and many more. Numerically this is the largest group.

The Left Wing: Politically advanced but numerically weak, consisting of such unions as the furniture workers, the electrical trade workers and the railway clerks.

A natural alliance between the Center and Left is held up by certain craft versus industrial differences, but all three could in a crisis be fused by one thing: fear of unemployment.

This is where the Right and most influential Wing comes in. It includes Ernie Bevin, who is said to favor a postwar coalition. His public speeches don't deny this and occasionally hint at it. In interviews he out-Roosevelts Roosevelt in steering round a direct question. And Ernie Bevin, you will remember, aided by his tory colleagues drew up the postwar plan for demobilization and retraining. They are pressing him to remain with them. He may, through his genuine concern about unem-

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ployment, agree. And if he does Herbert Morrison, much as he loathes Bevin personally, will probably say "yes" too, to avoid a Party split. In an emergency Labor Party Conference, which would have to be called before embarking on a coalition policy, the bloc votes held by the big unions' leaders could submerge the "Let's go all out for Socialism" cry of individual members.

Some significant facts: while two-thirds of our unions have less than 1,000 members each, three-fifths of the entire membership is concentrated in 16 large unions, each having over 100,000 members, and over half the affiliated membership (3½ million) is found in the six largest unions. It is these unions which are most substantially represented on the Labor Party's National Executive Committee.

Moreover the majority of Labor M.P.'s in the House of Commons are trade union nominees.

Financially the unions contribute ten times as much as all the individual members. For instance the Transport and General Workers' Union – Bevin's – subscribes over £7,000 a year while the average divisional (local or constituency) Labor Party group subscribes £5, £10 or very occasionally about £50 a year.

Lack of Democracy in the Unions

UNION executives are packed with elder statesmen – middle-aged men who have mostly lost their youthful energy and are well content with making the best of the present system. Union bloc votes at Labor Party annual Conferences are cast according to the majority feeling concerning the executives. Therefore, although an executive may be split on an issue 51 per cent to 49, the 51 per cent carry the votes of all the thousands of members and the 49 per cent have to be content with voicing their opinions as delegates only.

Take three big unions. The Transport and General Workers – Bevin's – number over 380,000. The National Union of Railway men (quite separate from the small and Left Wing railway clerks) numbers nearly as many. The General and Municipal Workers can put up a bloc vote of over a quarter of a million. Compare this with the total individual membership today of 240,000 odd and with other bloc votes and you have the probable Right Wing majority.

It is undoubtedly an over-simplification to suggest that certain unions are Right all through, others Left and some purely Center. The point is that with certain few exceptions—notably the Mineworkers Federation and the Amalgamated Engineering Union—most unions just do not possess the machinery for democratic discussion of the issues behind the bloc votes. Therefore union executives are free to vote as they feel rather than on the expressed mandate of the entire membership.

Another aspect: Some unions have themselves amassed considerable fortunes which they have invested in public and cooperative concerns. The Amalgamated Engineering Union for instance is worth about five million. There is even this whisper coming from Right-Wingers' lips: "The pennies of the workers must be safeguarded. They must never be jeopardized by a tremendous economic upheaval."

The postponing by its leaders of Labor's Whitsun Conference on the grounds that the Invasion was imminent is regarded as a tragedy by extreme Leftists as it prevented the Labor movement from expressing its frustration and its wishes.

It is however generally expected that Churchill will give two months' notice before the next General Election which will allow Labor time to meet but scarcely time afterwards to launch the extensive propaganda campaign necessary to sweep the country.

To forecast emphatically that Labor will be swung into supporting a coalition would be foolish, especially in view of the fluid state of domestic politics today but these facts certainly show how it could be "engineered" or a split caused through the pressure.

Morrison, Greenwood and the other Labor leaders have given to understand that they will in an emergency conference abide by majority decisions and not previous caucus arrangements.

But you see by this analysis where the majority vote can come from. The Left arm needs more grease to its elbow—and if it delays much longer it will have a job finding it.

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DOOMED JAPAN *exchanges* TOJO *for* KOISO

By JOHN GOETTE

The conquest of Japan will not be accomplished with the fall of Tokyo and the home islands; a determined military clique with millions of fanatical nationalists behind it may be expected to wage a suicidal war in Korea and Manchuria — costly in American lives as well as those of the enemy.

"TOJO'S exit should not be taken as a hint that Japan will sue for peace."

This is the reaction of China's Minister of War, General Ho Ying-chin, who has led the fight against Japan since the Manchurian invasion of 1931. He was educated in a Japanese military academy and he knows the enemy better perhaps than anyone else.

Events have backed up General Ho Ying-chin's conviction. Tojo's successor, Premier General Kuniaki Koiso, threw 175,000 troops into the battle to take Hengyang in Central China so that the north-south railway line may be consolidated in Japanese hands and further blows struck at American air bases to the west.

Under the new Premier, Japanese troops continued their hopeless struggle to hold Myitkyina in Burma. It was only after sixty-eight days of siege that the garrison was finally wiped out by General Stilwell's American-Chinese ground force.

When an American amphibious force struck at Guam only 1,500 miles from Tokyo, Premier Koiso was in office and his orders to hold the tiny island to the death were carried out by the Japanese garrison. Although casualties of 8,000 dead were reported back to the new Premier, he gave no permission for capitulation.

On all fronts the Japanese Army and Navy fights as before. A Chinese spokesman at Chungking said that the new Tokyo Cabinet had made no peace overtures to China. None were expected to result from Tojo's downfall.

As the Chungking spokesman put it, "The Chinese government has always been of the opinion that to negotiate with Japan for peace is like negotiating with a tiger for his skin; not only can you not get it, but like as not you will be bitten in the attempt."

Despite these immediate manifestations arising from the change of Cabinets, it is idle to deny that the collapse of Tojo was anything but a significant omen of evil for Japan. The Tojo Cabinet survived for two years and ten months, the longest reign of any Japanese premier since 1921. So long as the tide of war was with him, General Tojo would have remained. That he quit is evidence enough of dissatisfaction and fear.

Even as we regard Tojo's disappearance with pleasure and comfort, we must weigh the aspects which are not so favorable to our cause. Premier Kuniaki Koiso came to power direct from the most imperialistic of all Japanese posts, i.e., the governorship of Korea. This is the core of Japanese colonization; the heart of war supplies and industries beyond the home islands; the communications gateway for Tokyo's fighting machine to the Asiatic mainland; and potential battlefield of World War II.

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General Koiso is steeped in the doctrine of Japanese expansion. Just after the occupation of Manchuria he was Chief-of-Staff of the potent Kwantung Army which now holds that vast territory not only against China, but against America and the Soviets as well. Japan will not be defeated until a United Nations' army drives the Japanese from Manchuria. Premier Koiso knows this to be true from his own experience there.

A Stand on the Continent

IN other words, the new Premier might be termed a "continental fronter." As he sees us slowly chipping away the Pacific Islands, he will strive to make the Japanese impregnable in China, Manchuria, and Korea. He knows now that we are too powerful to be stopped in our sweeps across the sea westward from Honolulu and northwestward from Australia.

Premier Koiso knows also that it is merely a matter of months before the Japanese Islands will be relentlessly pounded by our B-29's and lighter bombers. He cannot prevent this. An amphibious landing on the coast of Japan is not too remote, and Premier Koiso, a capable military man, must realize that the specialized training and equipment of the American task forces will assure our success.

The Japanese Islands are exceedingly vulnerable to our naval, air, and ground attacks. They are small and can be overrun quickly. Therefore, Premier Koiso must seek to save the skin of his fellow militarists and salve defeat at home by a gigantic stand, first in North China, then Manchuria, and lastly in Korea.

Manchuria alone presents an enormous continental front such as we have not yet met with in our war in the East. It takes two days to cross the country by train in either direction. It has a population of over 30,000,000, and is in fact a nation complete with supplies of food, raw materials, and factories producing commercial and military necessities.

Premier Koiso and his clique could make a stand in Manchuria which might well add at least another year to the war and exceedingly heavy casualties to our burden of crushing Japanese militarism. We could not stop fighting after we have the home islands in our grip. We would have to battle on in Manchuria.

There we would be up against what General MacArthur has referred to as Japan's "first team." It is difficult to imagine any force fighting more doggedly than have the Japanese units on New Guinea and Saipan. They will not quit until we have wiped them out. That costs us time and lives even though we win in the end. However, the Kwantung Army in Manchuria has long been the cream of the Japanese crop. It has been established in parts of Manchuria since the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 and in all of Manchuria since 1931. It has splendid railways built with the idea of military strategy.

What we will meet when American troops roll down the roads over which the Czar's armies retreated before the Japanese in 1904, is hard to predict, but it is certain that Premier Koiso is working hard on his plans to make us pay for every inch of Manchurian soil.

The new Premier can smile with satisfaction at the words of General Stilwell, who in his moment of victory at Myitkyina, said:

"The Japs are just as tough as ever. They're hard to push around."

There will remain several million square miles of China, Manchuria, and Korea, in which we will have to push the enemy around even after American troops patrol the streets of Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagasaki. That vast area is Premier Koiso's continental front. It is his ace-in-the-hole.

Tojo a Poor Symbol

A SECOND aspect of the fall of Tojo undermines our wartime ideology and proves a theory which will bear directly on the peace. For the sake of convenience we made Tojo the scapegoat and symbol of our wrath against Japanese militarism. We pictured him to the American masses as another Hitler, a Mussolini with dictatorial sway over the destiny of Japan. He was the embodiment of all that was evil, and in this presentation we over-emphasized his importance and thereby underrated the responsibility of other Japanese for the war.

When we ranted about Tojo as the villain, we neglected the fact that our ally,

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China, had suffered from Japanese aggression since 1931. Tojo became Premier only in October, 1941. In the previous ten years there were scores and hundreds of other Tojos against whom the Chinese had a grievance. It was not enough to concentrate all the hatred of the United Nations on Tojo.

In doing this we gave the Japanese the opportunity to discredit our propaganda. If Tojo were a supreme dictator like Hitler, why was it possible for his Cabinet to be replaced in the constitutional fashion which had marked dozens of Cabinet changes in the past? That is the question which the Tokyo radio shouted back at us. Overnight the central figure of our anti-Japanese campaign was a political has-been. In orderly manner his successor was appointed and a new Cabinet formed. The portent would have been more propitious for us if this shake-up had caused more of a furore in Japan.

Again it would have been better for us if the Koiso cabinet offered any prospects for a repentant Japan. It does not. Admiral Yonai who has the newly devised responsibility of Vice-Premier as well as Minister of the Navy is credited with having prevented an outright German-Japanese military alliance when he was premier in 1940. This does not mean that he favored the United States. Perhaps he was one of the wiser Japanese who could imagine Germany in her present state. He was not against Japanese expansion but he was against tying that expansion to the fortunes of any other nation. If this is true, then the new Cabinet with Admiral Yonai is in a stronger position because Japan has gone its own way without coordination with Germany's gains or losses. When Germany does collapse it will strengthen us but will not weaken Japan.

General Sugiyama as Minister of War is no seeker of peace. I know that he is admired by officers of the Japanese Army who come from the masses. General Sugiyama succeeded the haughty Count Terauchi as Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Army in North China. Terauchi was considered a snob. However, Sugiyama was described to me as a general who would drink sake with his subordinates. I found the new Minister of War to be responsive and easy to talk with. However, it must not be presumed that he is soft or given to a liking for foreigners. While he was in supreme command in North China the most unspeakable treatment was accorded to British men and women, and to some Americans, when his army blockaded the British Concession at Tientsin. War Minister Sugiyama thus is popular among the general run of Japanese officers and men; he has had his lesson in conquest as Commander-in-Chief in North China; and he has shown what he can do to Americans and Britons. His inclusion in the Koiso Cabinet is no evidence of a trend favorable to us.

Chinese Guerrillas of the Northeast
Woodcut by Lin Yueh-hwa

Another Leader Chosen

A THIRD selection of Premier Koiso is a loss to our side. It might have been hoped that Minister for Foreign Affairs Mamaru Shigemitsu would remain aloof from public office and thus be one of the Japanese with whom we could negotiate after the military defeat. I have known

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Mr. Shigemitsu for twenty years, and like other Americans I believed that he was sympathetic toward us. I saw much of him when he was Ambassador to China in 1932 while the Japanese Army was blasting Shanghai by bomb and shell. He seemed apologetic for what his militarists were doing.

I was with Ambassador Grew in August, 1941, when Mr. Shigemitsu came into our hotel. He was just back from London. Our short conversation was friendly and left me with a feeling that he perhaps might be one of the reasonable Japanese to help us construct a new Pacific order. However, Premier Koiso gave him not only the Ministry for Foreign Affairs but the imperialistic Ministry of Greater East Asia which looks after civil affairs in the lands of Japan's conquest.

Thus in the fall of Tojo and the emergence of Koiso we have evidence aplenty that Japan's military ambitions are not the toys of a few leaders. It is not enough to make a Tojo or a Koiso the symbol of what we hate in Japan. It is obvious that the military, the navy, and the supposedly enlightened civilians like Shigemitsu, plus the entire mass of the Japanese are body and soul behind the war. They have profited from and gloated over every Japanese victory. This must be remembered in the physical defeat of Japan and in the formulation of the peace.

The Japanese masses will be more directly involved in the war as it approaches its end, for Premier Koiso announced the government's intention to arm the entire population. It can be presumed that the million or more Japanese civilians scattered throughout Korea, Manchuria, and China will be similarly equipped to help defend the conquered territories into which they moved on a presumably permanent basis.

All evidence tends to suggest that the closing phases of the war in Asia will be excessively sanguinary. Despite American propaganda dropped from the air and poured over enemy lines from our loudspeakers, Japanese soldiers still prefer to die in suicidal attacks or by their own hands. Civilian men, women, and children killed themselves by the hundreds when we took Saipan island.

If Premier Koiso carries out the threat to make every Japanese an armed defender of the homeland, it is likely that in such fighting and by suicide a large portion of the Japanese nation will be wiped out.

Fear of Jap Massacre

WHILE I was held by the Japanese Army in North China after Pearl Harbor, Chinese officials in Peiping discussed with me the problem of preventing a wholesale massacre of Japanese civilians once their armies were defeated. In Peiping there is a Japanese civilian for every ten Chinese. The Chinese have every reason to turn on the Japanese and I do not see how a massacre can be avoided. There are approximately 600,000 Japanese civilians in Occupied China. It is a question how many of them will escape with their lives.

At the same time we must face the fact that the complete defeat of Japan will be costly in American lives.

An idea of the price we pay for our victories over the Japanese can be had by comparison of our losses in the Marianas and Marshalls with those of the landing and initial fighting in Normandy. The opposing forces engaged in Normandy were vastly greater than those on the Pacific Islands. Yet six week's fighting in France killed just under four times as many Americans as died before Japanese guns in the occupation of the Marshalls and the Marianas. Smaller numbers of poorer equipped Japanese made us pay a higher price for this relatively small area than did the Germans for that large and vital segment of France.

The fall of the Tojo Cabinet did nothing to change this bloody side of our war ledger in the Pacific. Premier Koiso will probably have many successors before our total victory is achieved. However, it matters little who heads the Tokyo Government. The entire nation is behind the war and it appears more and more certain that millions of Japanese will fight and die before we can establish absolute peace.

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Jo

A WAR STORY

by

Ilya Ehrenbourg

I KNEW Jo before the war. He was a young dog who loved to run, his tongue out, through the narrow streets of a quarter in Moscow. His ancestors had not been of the high nobility. He had short crooked legs, and an enormous shaggy head. Everybody asked his owner, Maltsev with some malice: "Wherever did you unearth such a beauty?" Even Tamara herself said, "I understand that one might love a shepherd dog, but that thing. . . ." She was fond of the theatre and of art, while Maltsev was a taciturn scholar with a rounded back. He had a passion for big tedious tomes.

Jo knew that he must not bother Maltsev when he was seated at his work table. Sometimes this was difficult, for example when the bell rang and he longed to hurl himself into the hallway with joyous barking, or again when he heard coming from the kitchen certain suspiciously interesting sounds, Lena clattering the pans. But Jo did not dare open the door; instead he sniffed, his spirit on the alert. But when Maltsev got up, Jo ran delightedly around the room.

This dog had an inexhaustible fantasy and he spent his life inventing games full of puckish fun. He would hide a stone in

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the snow, then he would dig it out and, overjoyed by this farce, he would run to his master to show him his find. Maltsev had taught him to carry the newspaper to old Gnedin who lived in a neighboring alley. The old man would laugh loudly; "In America, they have special delivery, but you, if I dare say it, have a canine mail service." Maltsev said nothing. He knew that no one would understand his attachment for his hairy and lame dog of the streets.

Come the war. Jo and his master found themselves in the forests of Smolensk. Major Sokolovsky joked, "You didn't by any chance come from a circus? Or perhaps you hoped to frighten the Germans with that dog?"

Maltsev gave a short reply, shrugging his shoulders, "Jo is no imbecile." In relating this conversation, the major guffawed, "Lieutenant Maltsev has placed all his hopes in the strategic capacities of his mongrel, so help me!"

Meanwhile Jo frolicked among the trees and chewed the dead leaves. He didn't yet understand what war was.

Suddenly a terrible quake made the earth tremble. A cloud of earth was hurtled toward the sky. Maltsev was stretched in the mud, and Jo was frightened. He knew instinctively that some horrible thing had happened. The men scanned the heavens. Jo raised his head too; unable to hold himself in any longer, he emitted a groan of lamentation. Maltsev burst out laughing, "Well, my old man, are you scared?"

At the sight of his master's laughing face Jo calmed himself, and even began to beat the earth with his tail, at once happy and ashamed. But the thunder burst again. One of Maltsev's friends held his head in his hands, and fear again invaded Jo. He wanted to run away. But instead of that he remained lying down, his head against the earth, without for an instant taking his eyes off his master. Maltsev was there, he helped to dress a man's wounds. . . . Run away? Oh no, Jo was no coward. He wouldn't even bark after Maltsev cried "Shut up!" He just barely mumbled a bit. He understood that life had been transformed, that never again would he have a little rug on which to sleep, nor a cook nor those delicious hours when Maltsev rustled the pages of his books and when Jo had strange dreams, as that one about the sausages that fell from an old woman's basket or that one where he was chasing a cat.

THUS Jo vanquished his fear. The bombing planes made their raids. The shells burst. The machine guns went off with a disagreeable noise, as if someone was banging on the door with impatience. Passing over a mine, a truck exploded. Jo knew that death lurked everywhere, on the earth and in the sky. But if Maltsev had no fear it was useless to be terrified. Evidently the master was not having an easy life, doubtless he would have preferred to read or to stroll along the quais with Tamara. At Moscow, Jo sometimes forgot his master, while he chased the birds or fought with the conceited bulldog that lived in the same street. Here, Jo never took his eyes off Maltsev. He loved him with a love simple, absolute, with that love which men call condescendingly "the love of a faithful dog."

Maltsev did not get accustomed all at once to life at the front. He had no fear of death; he had fear only of not being up to it on the firing line, he dreaded not being able to find the word he would need to encourage his men. He was a man used to books, not talkative. Tamara rarely wrote and her letters were cold. Maltsev knew that after a month or two she would stop writing him entirely because she had never loved him. She had barely consented to his loving her.

Things weren't going well at the front; a retreat was necessary. The men were asking, "When are we going to stop?" Maltsev made war with gritted teeth. Jo reminded him of his happy former life, his books, his dreams, his youth.

Jo had changed. He always seemed anxious. For a long time now he had been accustomed to the artillery fire, to crawl across open spaces, and to hide himself in shell holes. One day, a yellow dog hurled itself upon him barking in one of the streets of the village. Formerly Jo would not have turned down a scrap for he was lively of temperament. This particular day he went on his way without even turning around, for he knew that there were much more important things to do.

As night fell under the tent, Jo awoke at

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the caress of his master. Maltsev had the blues. The evening before, a soldier had said to him, "Do you think we can ever stop them?" Maltsev knew that they could be stopped, but these defeatist words laid hold of him. Their bitter taste prevented him from sleeping. Jo understood the meaning of this awkward caress, and he rubbed his shaggy nose against Maltsev's palm.

WINTER arrived early this year, and the cold was sharp. When Maltsev reported to headquarters, Jo followed him, trotting along on feet that were stiff with cold. For a week they had been stationed on a hill near a little frozen river. Jo ran from one machine gun post to another. The soldiers were used to him. The dog had such a quiet manner that he created a sense of peace around them and reminded them of happy yesterdays.

On this particular day, Jo was cold and sad. He did not understand why they hadn't gone to the headquarters in the village. There, there was a fat major who played with him every day. But Jo did not know that the Germans had cut the road to the village and that the soldiers had received orders to hold to the death. Jo only saw one thing, that Maltsev was distracted. As if he felt guilty, the dog tried to make himself small, and his ears lay flat on his head. In appearance, Maltsev was calm, but within him passed a torrent of emotions. The munitions were almost exhausted; it would have been necessary to open the fire of the cannon on the route leading to Kruglovo; the radio wasn't working, the telephone lines had been cut. Twice, he had tried to send a soldier to the village: the first one had been killed, the second had returned wounded. If the munitions didn't arrive, it would be child's play for the Germans to capture the garrison tonight.

Maltsev was thinking neither of himself nor of his comrades. He had but one preoccupation: to stop the Germans. To open fire on the road was for him today the whole meaning of a life which formerly had seemed to him so complex and incomprehensible. Suddenly Maltsev understood; he must send Jo. He covered the dog with a white chemise to camouflage his body against the snowy surface, and to his collar he attached a message: "Munitions exhausted. Fire on the road to Kruglovo on the left of the woods." Then he said to Jo, "Run, run to the major."

But Jo didn't understand. He saw that his master needed his help, but he didn't know what he ought to do. He gazed anxiously at Maltsev with eyes which were faithful and sad. Then, Maltsev gave him an old newspaper carefully preserved to serve as paper for cigarettes. Jo took the paper between his teeth and reflected. He had understood that he must go to the village where each day he went with his master. Maltsev pointed with his finger and exclaimed, "Run!" Jo started out.

THE village was three kilometres away. Jo crawled, stopped, buried himself in the snow and got up again. He was afraid of losing the newspaper and it was difficult for him to breathe. First, he crossed a valley, then came a climb. Jo remembered the way. Everything around him was calm. He reached the summit and emerged on a line of fire. He turned to the right and started to crawl in a zigzag. This was the way he always walked with Maltsev. Suddenly he felt a violent pain and stopped short. An exploding mine had crushed his hind paws.

He fell unconscious in the snow. Presently he came to himself, groaned and remembered his mission. He must carry the newspaper. With difficulty he started again to crawl or rather to swim, for his front legs were pushing away the snow.

He arrived just in time. The commander of the post was getting ready to leave the region. The major read the note and cried, "It's Maltsev." He gave the order to notify the battery and to send help. Impatient, nervous, the major jostled his adjutant. A car stood before the door. Nobody paid any attention to the dog. But Jo saw that the newspaper which was the cause of his trip had fallen on the ground. He barked to say, "Pick up the newspaper." But the men had other cares on their minds. The major and three other men left the house. Jo remained alone. With pain, he began to crawl, he wanted to go back near his master but couldn't open the door. He remained lying down all night, all day, and then another

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day. He was tortured by thirst; he passed his dry tongue over his broken paws. With sadness he thought, "Where is Maltsev?"

The shadows fell, and the dog felt the whole weight of his solitude. He wanted to bark but had no strength. He lost consciousness and dreamed that he was very little. He had nightmares and cried, "Where is Maltsev?"

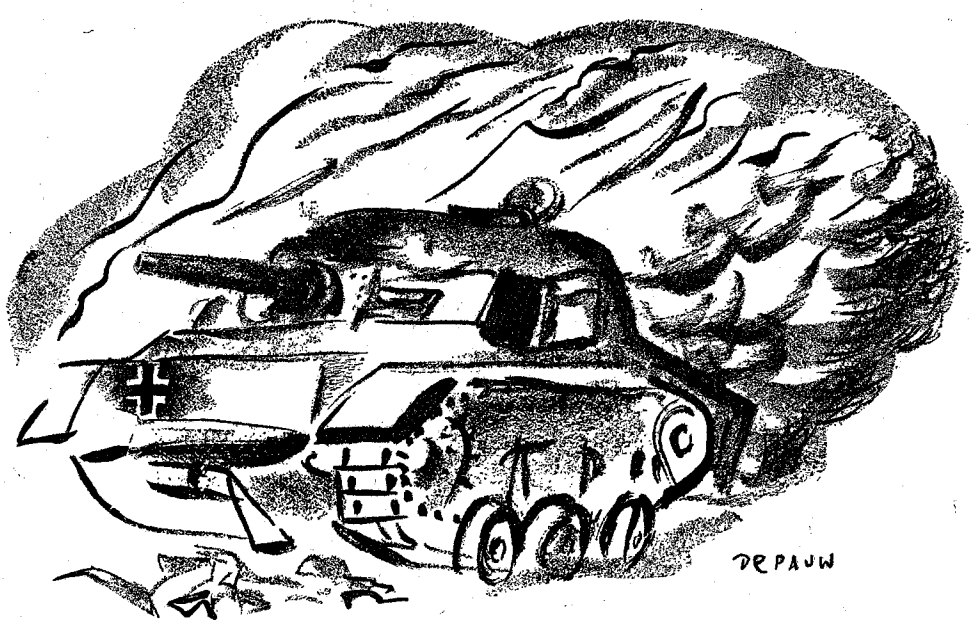
Well, Maltsev was very happy. When the cannon opened fire on the road to Kruglovo, he understood that Jo had accomplished his mission. At four in the afternoon, it was already dark, and the reinforcements arrived in time. Maltsev asked where his dog was. No one knew. At dawn, the Germans tried to attack but they were repulsed. Later, Maltsev and Redko, the chief of the reinforcement detachment, counter-attacked and were able to push the Germans along the road. At nightfall Maltsev left for the village. In the empty shack where the major had formerly stayed, he found Jo. The dog came to him but couldn't even lift his head. His tail wagged imperceptibly, and all that his poor dog's spirit felt passed into his eyes as he looked on Maltsev.

The man turned, bent over, and caressed Jo, remaining for a moment silent, then caressing him again. Taking quickly his revolver, he fired, then left the room without turning. He had to get to headquarters.

TODAY, Maltsev is a colonel. On his breast are ribbons of his decorations given for his wounds. Who would recognize in this experienced military officer the timid scholar? He has found the way to the hearts of other men, he has found worthwhile friendships and the regiment is his family. He has seen much: the red smoke of Stalingrad and a well filled with the bodies of children. His eyes wear the heavy look of men who have seen more than any human being ought to see.

I met him recently. We passed a whole evening in a damp foxhole speaking of faithfulness and of human frivolity, and how difficult it is to uncover the nobility of the human heart.

We talked of Moscow before the war, the quiet street where Maltsev lived. Suddenly, he said to me, "You'll be astonished, but I cannot forget the eyes of Jo when he saw the revolver in my hand."



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The U.S.A. needs a Realistic Foreign Policy

By

JOHN F. WHARTON

THE desire to eat one's cake and still have it is deep-rooted in all mankind, and the American is no exception to the rule. In our internal affairs we have learned, to some extent at least, that it can't be done. We have found that justice is impossible unless the judge has no personal interest in the controversy. We are beginning to understand that when widespread unemployment destroys mass purchasing power, producers have no market for their goods. But in foreign affairs we still demand utterly inconsistent accomplishments. The result, of course, has been an almost complete lack of foreign policy, either political or economic. This is so, not only because different State Department officials have conflicting views of their own, but also because the citizenry as a whole is either indifferent to, or completely confused about, the whole subject.

Every American will tell you that he wants a foreign policy that will assure us peace and will aid us to be prosperous—a quite laudable desire. Most Americans will also stoutly assert that we must not meddle in the internal affairs of other nations—which also sounds quite laudable. What course, then, should we pursue when we discover a political party seizing absolute power in Japan with the avowed intention of attacking us? We know what course we did follow. And the one thing most of us feel sure about is that it was the worst possible course. But what was the right one?

When the Japanese attacked at Pearl Harbor, one of our comfortable dreams of one hundred and fifty years was shattered,—the dream that we would always be able to decide whether or not we wished to make war and thus have time enough to prepare for it. Many people haven't waked up yet from that dream. They still want the security from invasion heretofore afforded by the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. But they want it without any daily thought, effort, expenditure or risk. Even those people who recognize the threat of the long-range bomber and the air borne invasion like to believe that our production genius solves the whole problem because it will somehow give us air superiority over all the rest of the world combined. This is pure fantasy, for an armament race in airplanes could hardly have any different ultimate result than the inevitable war which has followed every other armament race.

The opinion polls indicate clearly that most of our people want us to sell goods abroad but are equally desirous of shutting out imports. If exports can only be paid for with imports, the majority would frankly prefer to try again for old-fashioned isolationism and self-sufficiency. Everyone wants a sound international currency, but is extremely suspicious of any plan put forward which asks us to take some of the inherent risk necessary to try to assure it. We are proud of the fact that, as Mr. Willkie, put it, we have a "reservoir of goodwill" abroad, but that doesn't stop us from launching virulent attacks on "foreigners," including our own Allies in the war.

Lastly, there is a phobia in the minds of

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many powerful Americans that some secret, mysterious group of impractical idealists are planning to "give away America," although, with the exception of some hard-headed business men who cynically advocate post-war Lend-Lease for their own particular products, no one of importance has advocated such a policy. This fear has particularly gripped these people who exercised a controlling influence on foreign policy during the decades of the twenties and thirties, when we delivered abroad some twenty to forty billion dollars' worth of goods and services for which we never received any goods or services in return. Many people exhibit a curious un-American feeling that any other nation can outsmart us in foreign trade. At the same time, other people talk of an "American Century."

To give the devil his due, could any group of State Department officials or Foreign Economic Administrators, though they were all reincarnated Solons, translate this welter of confusion into a coherent, representative national foreign policy, either political or economic?

The Choice Before Us

UNTIL the mass of the American people agree on some fundamental principles which eliminate at least the major inconsistencies in our global thinking, our foreign policy will continue to drift in its present purposeless meanderings. Before such agreement can be reached we shall have to make one basic choice: Shall we assume that all foreign governments which can keep law and order within their own boundaries are entitled, in peace time, to equal political and economic privileges in our dealings with them? Or shall we assert that those nations whose internal policies and domestic popular movements seem to us the most likely to promote world peace and prosperity are entitled to more favorable treatment from us?

If we choose the first course, the one we have been more or less following for some twenty-five years, we must frankly admit that our national safety depends on military alliances, and we must be prepared to enter, at top speed, the armament race in planes, tanks and ships. We must give up the idea of increasing any world-wide "reservoir of goodwill," and face the fact that our foreign economic policy will be subordinated to our political policy. If we select Britain as our military ally, we must support British policy in India and Malaya, even if that policy is dictated by a highly reactionary group holding British political control at the moment. We must be prepared to ally ourselves with a new Hitler, if our national safety seems to demand it. At the same time, we must be prepared to see the raw materials of war going to a future Japan even after (to quote our State Department) "her hostile intentions had become clear."

This policy is not an inspiring one and, obviously, it would not be free from risk, for the whole conception rests on the doubtful assumption that any recognized government is a permanent government expressing the long-term desires of all of the factions within the nation. In the world of today where internal upheavals are hardly uncommon, this assumption does not seem to afford a very solid rock on which to build a sound foreign policy.

If we choose the second course, if we seek security not by trading military guarantees but by encouraging popular movements having political, economic and social ideals similar to our own, we can pursue a course which seems infinitely more fitted to the best of the American way of life. The initial decisions may seem more difficult, but the problems are not insoluble, and the possibilities which open up are inspiring rather than depressing.

We must, in the first place, decide which nations, regardless of their present rulers, seem, in the long run most likely to cooperate with us in plans for peace and prosperity. In making these decisions, we must differentiate between the so-called "industrialized nations," such as England, Canada and Germany, and the so-called "undeveloped nations," such as Burma, Malaya, and some of the Latin-American countries.

On the basis of such historical evidence as is available, it appears that the industrialized nations which lean most strongly toward peace are those which show three rather clear internal trends. The people exercise control over their rulers. The in-

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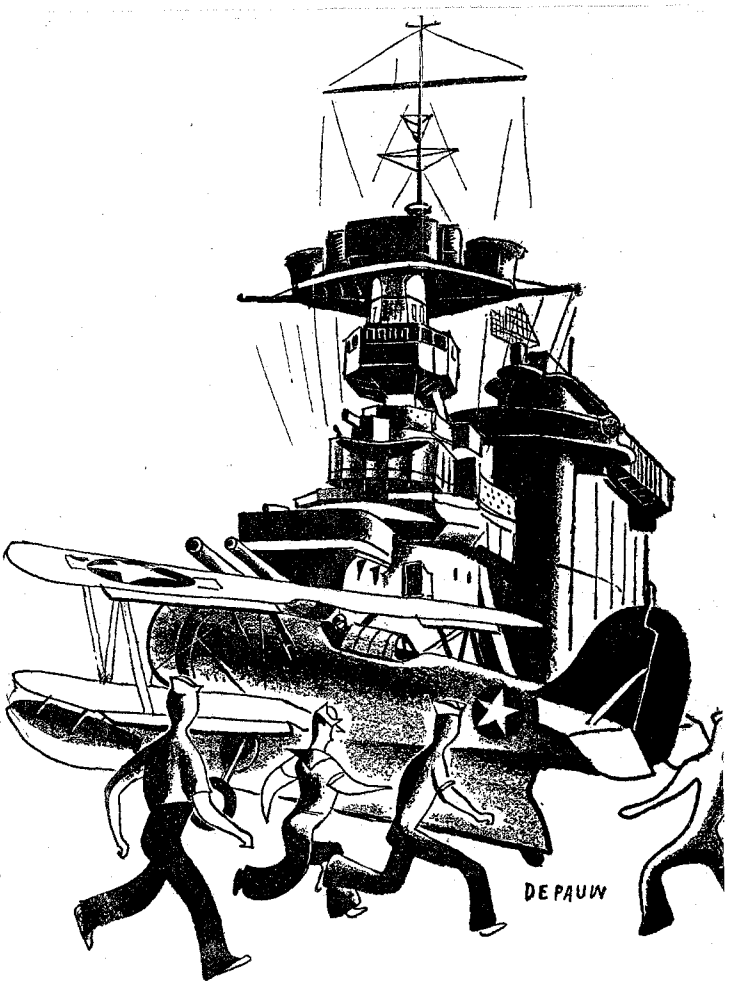
dustrialization is accompanied by a steady rise in the standard of living of all of the people. The basic morality denies the *right* of one group to exploit another merely because it has the power to do so. Admitting that no nation ever completely lives up to its national ideals, it remains true that nations *with great popular movements* directed toward these ideals and ends have shown themselves the least likely to be smitten with the war fever. England, France and Canada, for example, have been *preponderantly* non-aggressive for nearly one hundred years, although the first two have at times been ruled by completely reactionary governments, ready to plunge them into war, and at all times contained factions whose ideals were indistinguishable from the Fascist.



Foreign Trade Bug-a-Boo

IT will also be discovered, happily enough, that such nations present the smallest problems in economic policy. The great foreign trade bug-a-boo of most Americans is the fear that our exports must be paid for with imports which are the product of exploited labor. This is a bug-a-boo which has more reality than most idealistic free-traders will admit. But it does *not* apply to those countries where the general plane of living is rising, for in those coutries, labor standards tend to equalize with our own. Such countries may become competitors for our markets, but at the same time they also become equally good customers.

When we look at the "undeveloped countries," we find quite different problems. In most of these, even those with democratic forms of constitution, the people have little control over their rulers for the simple reason that they have neither the necessary education nor experience for self-government. Such countries, and they include China and India, could, with industrialization, develop into the most dangerous aggressor states of history. Whether or not they take this course probably depends on the internal policies which they pursue for the next twenty-five years. If they adopt broad scale programs of education and health; if transportation and communication is rapidly developed; if their citizens are given access to land, invention, and the individual opportunity which arises from such access; if a sound basic morality is concurrently developed; then the odds will be in favor of democracy, peace and cooperation. If they fail to pursue these policies, a third and still greater World War seems inevitable. In that war we could easily be on the losing side. It is, therefore, vital to our own peace and security to stimulate the proper internal development.

This can only be done if we realistically face now the problems in economic policy which such nations present. In these countries a *great* rise in general well-being has *not* gone hand in hand with such industrial and agricultural development as has taken place. The productive land in these countries is usually held by a comparatively small group, some native, some foreign. Since all tangible wealth comes from the land (using "land" to include the sea and air surrounding it), the control of these countries' wealth lies with these small groups.

The objective of these groups, for the most part, has been to export this wealth to markets, such as the United States, where

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they can get the highest price. They have not developed a home market, for this would mean local taxes to pay for roads, education, health, and the other necessary attributes of a developing nation. The native workman probably does get more wages than he got before, but rent, food and clothing also cost him more. Such fundamental hygiene as has been necessarily established has enormously increased the birth rate, but no similar increase of opportunity has gone with it.

The result is, of course, an oversupply of labor and consequent low wages. Hence, when we buy from these countries, we *are* buying the products of cheap labor; we *are* bringing in sweatshop competition, and we can't even tax those who get the profits from the operation. Here the protectionist has a sound case. Unfortunately, many of the cheap labor products, such as tin and rubber, are not found in this country, so the opposition to their import has been least pronounced. This has tended to obscure the whole problem.

It is submitted, therefore, that we cannot apply to undeveloped nations the same economic policy as we do to the industrialized, democratic nations. More important, due to the possible varying effects of industrialization, we should not apply the same policy to all undeveloped nations.

The Problems of Industrialization

IT appears that the war interrupted, but has also stimulated, a surge of desire on the part of the undeveloped nations to industrialize. The Turks were setting a notable example before the war. Russia was a pre-war mystery, but today appears as the top example for backward nations to gaze at, if *speed* of economic development alone be considered. Among countries which proceeded at a slower pace, developing democratic institutions as they went along, our own country is considered by many the best guide. For our own security, we should, of course, prefer to see backward countries follow our example rather than any other. What can we do about it?

It has already been mentioned that our people object to any political meddling in the internal affairs of others. (Whether this theory will be applied to Germany and Japan remains to be seen.) We have just discussed the proposition that imports from many countries are really "cheap labor goods," which most Americans believe should be kept out by tariffs and other trade barriers, especially if they compete with American production. But unless these countries can acquire *dollars,* they cannot buy and pay for, in the United States, the products and services needed to industrialize. Unless this problem can be resolved, they will have to get these products elsewhere, in which case we can hardly hope for an increase in good feeling toward the United States.

Many people assume that foreign loans are the only other way to meet the problem. But, as history has shown, this can prove a disastrous method. A loan implies ultimate repayment of principal, and the payment of interest in the meantime, and we expect both to be paid in dollars. Where are the dollars to come from?

The two usual sources are: (1) the sale of goods or services, produced by the foreign nationals, to Americans desiring them. This includes goods imported here or bought abroad by American tourists, including payments for the "invisible services," such as banking, transportation and insurance. (Of course, the sale does not have to be direct under modern conditions of multi-lateral trade.); (2) so long as the gold standard exists, a gold producing country may ship gold to us. Since few countries are great gold producers, if we will not buy foreign goods or services in sufficient amount, the foreign nationals cannot get the needed dollars and the loan will eventually go into default. A very long loan during the term of which a country became fully industrialized, might be a solution, but it is doubtful if the American people wish to risk a repetition of their experience of the 1920's, when nearly 80% of all private loans made by our citizens to countries other than Britain and Canada (the two democratic industrial nations, be it noted) went into default.

There is a third way in which a foreign country can acquire dollars, and bold economic statesmanship might find it the key to the problem. The citizens of a foreign country may sell land to American buyers, or, to put it in the converse way, Americans

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might invest in foreign equities. In these transactions, there is no loan to be repaid. The sellers of the land can use the proceeds to buy American goods and to pay for them without the need of selling something to satisfy a creditor when a loan comes due.

Investment in foreign equities, along old-fashioned lines, would merely enter our citizens as added starters in the race for exploitation. Such investment should be part of a plan to stimulate the kind of society which we believe will be a friend to us in peace and war, and which will eventually grow into a democratic, industrialized nation with which we can trade freely. As has been said, it seems likely that in this age of swift communication and air borne international travel, any country which deliberately undertakes programs of universal education, health, local transportation, communication, and individual opportunity, is more likely to emerge as a peace loving nation than as a fascist aggressor, and as a mass market customer rather than merely a cheap labor threat. If it be accepted that this is the best risk, our foreign policy toward undeveloped countries should be developed along two lines.

A Double Headed Policy

FROM countries which are seeking to industrialize along lines which include no programs for a substantial rise in the general plane of living, we should stand aloof. Such countries are the potential Japans and Germanys of the future. We need not forbid foreign investment in such countries by our citizens, but we should not encourage it. We should make clear to such nations that if their development threatens to produce competitive goods by reason of cheap labor, we will take steps to protect our producers and labor by excluding those goods.

We should, at the same time, offer quite a different program to any country seeking to industrialize along the opposite lines. Such a program might include all or any of the following:

(a) A very long term *government* to *government* loan, at a low interest rate, to permit the purchase of goods such as road building machinery, school and sanitation equipment, locomotives and rails for national railways, all of which would be needed in the educational, health, transportation and housing programs. Such loans need *not* be large in amount. The greater part of the cost of such programs is *local* labor and materials, for which no foreign loan is needed. If long enough in term, and supervised in the manner which is possible in a government loan, such loans could be eventually repaid.

(b) Government aid to citizens desiring to invest in equities in those countries, preferably in *partnership* with natives of the country involved. How far this aid would have to go is a moot question. It might merely supply avenues of contact and statistical data. It might, on security grounds, be worth our while to guarantee our citizens the principal of the investment, somewhat in the way the Federal Housing Authority guarantees our banks partial payment of certain mortgages. In this connection it is significant that the Bretton Woods Monetary Agreement, which now awaits ratification by our own national legislature and those of the other United Nations, would set up a World Bank to guarantee private investments for reconstruction or development, and in some cases to make direct loans to undeveloped countries. The effect of the World Bank would be to spread the risks on defaults among many nations, though most of the capital originated in a few wealthy nations, such as the United States.

(c) Recommendations by our government of fiscal, tax, educational, health and engineering advisors whom the country in question could retain to help lay out their programs.

No country would, of course, be under any obligation to accept such a program. No pressure would be put on anyone. If other countries do not want this kind of development, we cannot make them want it. But the offer could hardly do otherwise than increase goodwill toward us from the people everywhere.

The proposal made here runs counter to the trend of nineteenth century patterns in several ways. It has been customary with us to accept any government which could maintain law and order and afford such a government equal treatment with any other. Fascist Japan and democratic Uruguay were both "sovereign" governments

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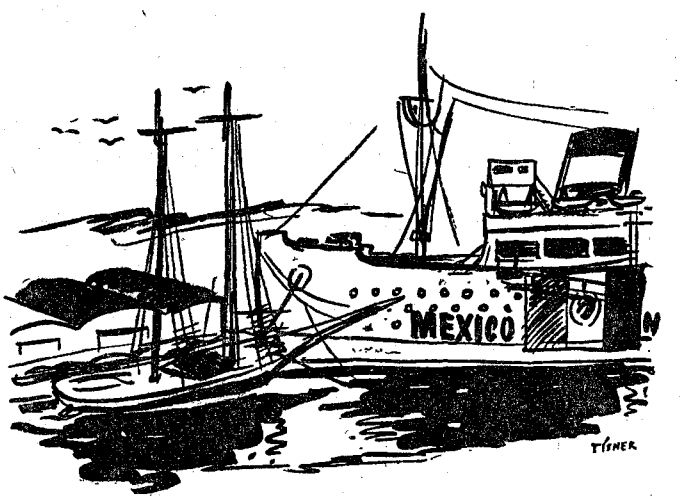
to the State Department; no distinction, political or economic, was made between them. The world of power politics assumes that what is, will remain, whether it be a Fascist despotism, or a true democracy, and that one should treat them both alike. We have now learned that the attempt to treat them both alike can only end in war. If there is to be any hope of world peace, we must learn how to apply different policies. We must also accept as a fact that the nineteenth century pattern of obtaining only raw materials from undeveloped countries and suppressing any attempts on their part to produce fabricated goods is gone forever. We must look toward the maximum expansion of production and the widest possible diffusion of its benefits. We must seek to make allies of the people of a country, rather than make a transient treaty with a ruling clique.

Such a policy would, of course, further indirectly any political world peace projects. Nations striving to obtain maximum production and exchange might well cooperate in plans for world security. Nations seeking to exploit undeveloped regions will get no real cooperation from each other or from the nations they seek to exploit. Such a policy would also promote our security in case peace plans failed, for a partnership effort to improve general well being would certainly be more conducive to potential alliance in war than a treaty with a temporary autocrat. It would, of course, stimulate our own prosperity, for the mass markets which the American producer seeks would be on the increase, and in the meantime, the foreign exchange necessary for industrialization would build up so long as the investment in foreign equities continued. In short, political and economic objections, instead of being in frequent conflict, would become inseparable and indistinguishable.

If the United States is, for the first time, to step forth and take a leading part in world trade and investment, this is a policy peculiarly suitable for such a step. All other nations which have played this game have leaned heavily toward empire, repression, restriction and exploitation. If we simply try to beat them at that game, we shall curry no more favor than they have succeeded in doing. Indeed, we shall probably get the worst of it in every way, for we shall be up against competitors with at least one hundred years more experience. If, on the other hand, we set out to bring to fruition the goodwill felt toward us by the peoples of the undeveloped countries, we shall be creating a new era where experience with the old-fashioned game is more likely to prove a detriment than a benefit. In a free field with no favors our people can take care of themselves.



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AMERICANS UNITED for DEMOCRACY and WORLD ORDER

By Ulric Bell

CAN Americans be made to realize what a close call this country had in being unprepared, morally and otherwise, against the Nazi-Fascist attempt to enslave the world?

And, now that the military menace to the world's freedom, including the freedom of Americans, is being lessened, can the country be roused so to act that neither the military menace can recur nor the Fascist idea again take hold anywhere, most particularly in the United States?

Many of the most distinguished men and women of the day believe that popular awareness of these things can be brought about. By banding together in Americans United for World Organization, they have set the pattern for a movement paralleling the steps taken in other countries to mobilize democratic forces and promote unity of the nations for permanent peace. They even hope that this endeavor will surpass the proportions attained by the Free World Organization elsewhere. Theirs is a thoroughly American undertaking but it takes into account the common aspirations of free men the world over. It will therefore cooperate closely with FREE WORLD in all proper fields, having, indeed, absorbed the American Free World Association in its framework.

On the auspicious side, AU starts out with a consolidation of most of the active national groups working for world organization in the field of political action. For once, after many vicissitudes, these groups are now under one banner, and many others have joined the line-up of cooperating organizations within educational and research limits. The united front consists of the old Committee to Defend America, the Fight for Freedom, the United Nations Association, Citizens for Victory, the American Free World Association and the United Nations Committee of Greater New York. These are the organizations actually combining their activities in the political sphere—and political sphere means supporting and opposing candidates, and combatting isolationism in every respect.

Another asset is the non-partisan and catholic array of individuals enlisted in the effort. These names are a broad cross-section of every phase of American life—labor, business, the press, the clergy, educators, the arts and sciences, politics and both sides of the railroad tracks. On the question of fighting the elements and trends and individuals threatening to a democratic and secure future for the world, they are of one mind. They are determined that ignominious political history shall not repeat itself.

Still another advantage is that the components of the consolidated endeavor attract at once the militant citizenry allied at one time or another with such organizations as the Fight for Freedom and the Committee to Defend America. A legion of Americans followed these banners and millions more have joined them under the lessons imparted by this war.

Some of the staff and officer personnel of the former groups have joined Americans United in the activity flowing out of 5 West 54th Street, New York. This is a factor against old pitfalls.

In technique, the AU leaders are proceeding in the conviction that the man in

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the street must have the issues presented to him in simple and understandable terms. No matter by what intricate processes the blueprints for the future are arrived at, the average citizen must be able to grasp the idea that heroic and unprecedented action must be taken by the nations to prevent the "next" war, or civilization will be rocked. He must know that neither he nor his children can withstand the super-robots, and the women of America must know that their sons and husbands might have been spared this time but for the failure of recent generations.

Americans United will argue that Americans failed the last time because they did not insist upon applying to international organization the same democratic precepts of equality of standing and unity of action they practice—to the awe and admiration of the world—in the system known as the United States of America. They will seek *democratic* principles in the establishment of a world organization. At the same time, asking that this organization have the automatic power to act against aggressors, they will set forth that national sovereignty is something to be used to the degree necessary and not made a pretext for not joining in an effective line-up of the nations.

Moreover, Americans United has the task of rousing Americans to the fact that democracy begins at home; that it cannot be compromised at any point without incurring the risk of a Fascist foothold somewhere. It will fight and fight hard for political candidates of either party who support its objectives. And it will combat to the utmost the subversive and anti-American elements which masquerade as superpatriotic groups. Whether it can wake up average America to the danger that even with military victory the Fascist idea can grow in this country, remains to be seen. But the determined men and women who have launched this undertaking have the faith that the ordinary American citizen only needs to know the facts —his own way.

Can Science Mend Our Broken World?

Science can go a long way toward mending the crushed limbs, the shattered features of our youths who have been through the hell of modern war. It can pour new blood into their arteries . . . teach them to walk, and to be useful workers again.

But if these were its only achievements, great as they seem, Science would be a bankrupt undertaking in a bankrupt world. Has it also new ideas, new vision, a new serum with which to inoculate men's souls? Has it learned how to generate the power with which to remold our broken civilization? The answer of many great scientists is: YES. Beginning in October

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SOMETHING NO READER CAN AFFORD TO MISS

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IN

DEFENSE OF THE AMERICAS

By

ALBERTO GUANI

THE Emergency Committee for Political Defense, created by the conference of Secretaries of State at Rio de Janeiro, is an integral part of a plan of total defense against the project of world domination by Axis countries.

Since the beginning of the war in 1939, nazi societies more or less secret in character, made their appearance on the American continent. In the case of Uruguay the existence of German fascist organizations was officially recognized in July of 1940, when Minister Langman, accredited to Montevideo, was forced to take action to dissolve these organizations according to the outline given him by the Ministry of Foreign Relations.

The strangest part of this affair is that the Chief of the German delegation thought a dual function or a political mission from his country into ours a feasible addition to his official diplomatic functions. That was the extreme to which the Nazis erred as far as international judgment was concerned.

The Minister declared openly that the organization of the Party called NSDAP in our country was under his personal supervision. This statement, obviously, presupposed government consent to allowing powers to be attributed to the Chief of a diplomatic mission, not in accord with the functions foreseen by public law, since foreign residents are completely under the jurisdiction of national laws.

Uruguay, like all the countries of the Americas, though conceding all kinds of guarantees and liberties to the foreigner in his activities, expects him, once he is established in our territory, to obey no other authority, nor be under any jurisdiction other than that established by the laws of the Uruguayan State. The "Concept of Minorities" which the above statement implies, is unknown to our legislature and to our history.

Similar activities of the Axis were scattered all over the Americas, utilizing thousands of persons, financial, commercial and transportation groups and organizations, as well as the Axis diplomatic missions, as in this instance—and even traitorous citizens of the American States.

Here, in short, is what the Emergency Committee has been organized to combat in a logical, legal and political manner. I will outline briefly the form of organi-

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zation of the Committee, the general character of its members and its special faculties of deliberation, coordination and consultation.

The general outlines of its action were established at the Pan-American Union. The seven members of the Committee not only represent the countries which appoint them, but also all the countries composing the Pan-American Union, and they act in their name. Besides the above representatives, the governments of the remaining American republics appoint a functionary who by representing his own country acts as a liaison with the Committee.

Since the governments of the 21 Republics are represented in the Committee on a level of absolute equality, they must have equally appropriate means of exercising their right of participation in the work of the Committee.

21 Republics Participate

THE internal organization of the latter as well as the organs and procedures of communication and contact between the Committee and the various governments have been created and developed with the intention of guaranteeing an effective participation of all the republics in the Committee.

To visualize the magnitude of the work of which the Committee is in charge, it is sufficient merely to classify roughly the categories of these defensive measures:

1. Control of dangerous aliens;
2. Prevention of the abuse of naturalization;
3. Regulation of transit on national frontiers;
4. Avoidance of acts of political aggression.

The resolutions on these subjects already adopted by the Committee are very numerous. They include such things as registry of aliens, identification cards, detention and exclusion of dangerous Axis nationals, protection of ships and harbor installations, clandestine radio communications, and other matters equally important to our defense against totalitarian propaganda.

The nature of our functions is bound to be rather delicate both in relation to the control of the members of the Committee, and in respect to the kind of action recommended in States which are so different.

Our organization proceeds basically according to new judgments, which are related to common law and which are undoubtedly bound to become general. Since our conceptions and the range of our resolutions were not fully understood at first they suffered some criticisms, but these have been completely dissipated.

There is a courage behind the Committee which gives it strength and impulse. I do not believe that its fundamental spirit has been more clearly stated than in the words of the young and famous internationalist and delegate of the United States, Mr. Carl B. Spaeth: "In view of the fact that the activities of the Committee have developed in a field which has a close relationship with the most typical and true expression of the national sovereignty of each member of the American nations, the Committee has been able to effect a practical and effective work only because of the solidarity which unites our people.

"We must agree," he adds, "in believing that our experience justifies the conclusion that the American republics are proving that the inevitably reinforced coordination and unity of sovereign interests will not weaken the sovereignty of each individual republic."

This is a truly definite statement on the manner and form in which our high aims for collective defense of the Continent are carried out.

If Fascism Goes Underground!

MANY public meetings all over the United States have as their theme, "Prevention of World War III."

FREE WORLD proposes that they direct their attention also to "Prevention of Fascism II," because both are equally dangerous to humanity.

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Argentina's

New World Nazis

by

Ray Josephs

Does history repeat itself—and is the history of nazi Germany now being repeated in Argentina? Not precisely, this observer finds. There is always a difference. But while our Good Neighbor policy was weak-kneed, Germany has for years busily cultivated the seeds of totalitarianism on New World soil. Economic sanctions applied in time still might crush nazi elements and bring democratic leadership to the fore.

TO the *portenos* of big, bustling Buenos Aires, the nightly scene down at *Dock Sud* used to be just another metropolitan incident, no more exciting than watching the Staten Island Ferry pull out or seeing the Oakland boat being made ready to cross San Francisco Bay.

Every night at ten the whistle would blow, the gangplank would be drawn up and the old-fashioned multi-decked river boat would be tugged out to the muddy *Rio de la Plata* for the overnight journey to Montevideo. And a trip to "Monte" had about the same importance to Argentines as the Staten Island ride or the Golden Gate excursions to Manhattanites or San Franciscans.

The Montevideo boats still run but the journey isn't the same any more. The lights of the *Costanera* strung out along the long stone river embankment as you leave Buenos Aires and the traditional *toastados y cafe* served on the house just before arrival time the next morning haven't changed. But once you step onto the pier in Montevideo the contrast is sharp, dramatic, a little breath taking.

You buy a newspaper and you read news. *La Manana* likes the government; *El Pais* objects, but it's all there and a lot more besides. You step into a telephone booth, dial a number. You talk and hang up, conscious for the first time in months that no outsider has been wire tapping. Your bags are inspected by the *Aduana* authorities. But no books are seized as seditious, no letters scrutinized as dangerous, no questions asked about family, friends or religion.

There is free air in tiny, democratic Uruguay. And more and more Argentines—those who can, of course—are taking the night boat to come over and breathe it. Montevideo has become a kind of refuge in a Latin America which under Berlin and Madrid-inspired Argentine influence seems headed more and more down the totalitarian road.

It is typical of the Uruguayans that unlike many of their Good Neighbors, the more their freedom is threatened, the more they fight to assert it and to protect and cherish it. I spent some time in Montevideo recently after the atmosphere for newspaper correspondents who wanted to file news, not official Argentine handouts, became unduly oppressive. It was like another world, like suddenly leaving an occupied camp for freedom. And it stands out all the more as I think back over events of the last months and recall my journey through Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Central America and Mexico en route back to the U. S. A. for the first time in almost five years.

Almost every country in the Americas has already been affected by what has happened in Argentina. But it is only a beginning. Latin America today is seething with dis-

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content, with growing nationalist prides, with fears about the postwar and what the U. S. is going to do about it and with a curious mixture of emotions about what is going on in Argentina.

You sense it when you fly across the Andes to Santiago, Chile. You see the Argentine pattern already at work in land-locked, mountain-top Bolivia; military control of everything civilian, strait-jacket censorship, intolerance, anti-Semitism, Nazi and Falangist-bred patriotism which expresses itself in hatred of *Tio Sam,* meaning the United States. Peru, full of lip service to democracy is run like a feudal *hacienda* with no opposition tolerated. I was in Ecuador when the popular but uncertain Velasco Ibarra took over and in Colombia just before a group of Argentine-minded Army officers unsuccessfully attempted to install a military dictatorship in Bogota. The only reasonably quiet republic I found in Central America was Costa Rica. For I was able in a short space of weeks to eye-witness movements in Nicaragua, in Honduras, in Salvador and in Guatemala. In some dictators are going out, in others they are coming in, but everywhere there were signs of disquiet that make the visions of peace in the Americas almost less secure than anywhere else on the battle-torn globe.

Warning of Future

THERE is a mistaken notion here in the States that all of these moves are dictated down to the last detail in Buenos Aires and that everything which happens in Buenos Aires is in turn handled via direct line to the *Wilhelmstrasse.* This is accompanied by an assumption that if and when Hitler is beaten, all the troubles will stop. The fact is that while much of what has been taking place in Latin America today and will be happening *mañana* stems from the inspiration and covert help of Germany via the Colonels clique, there is a deeper reason. How it came to happen in Buenos Aires gives the clue as to the ways and means in which the rest of Latin America is involved. It also gives a dangerous warning of what lies ahead here, regardless of developments outside the Americas.

Many people have asked me if it is not true that the events of the last eighteen months in Latin America do not somehow indicate the failure of our Good Neighbor policy. There is some truth in this point, but it is certainly not correct to blame everything on such a facile premise. It is not the Good Neighbor idea which is as much to blame as the fact that such a policy should have been devised and put into effect a long time ago and that it must needs be extended, broadened and made more sincere today.

The Germans in their operations in Argentina and in Latin America worked their technique the other way around. Their method was to go after not merely the people who had the power—which is essentially the way our own State Department has operated—but to win those who might eventually wish to seize the reins for their own advantage. In Argentina, for example, the Nazis and the German militarists before them started working a long time ago. Authenticated information, compiled by careful researchers, traces German plans back a hundred years or more. But the present day effort roughly began before the first World War, kept Argentina neutral then, emerged again when the Prussian militarists and the Junkers found opportunities limited at home and began expanding their operations in Latin America.

Argentina offered the ideal field—it was the only country which had an almost pure European stock. It possessed rich agricultural and industrial possibilities. And it had an Army; an Army which was taught not only the goose-step but the political philosophy of Berlin. After the Nazis came into power, the cultivation of Argentina through General Wilhelm von Faupel's Ibero-American Institute began in earnest. The emphasis was in two directions. There was the military drive to convince the Argentines first of Nazi superiority and the value of a strong, centralized authoritarian system for the military itself. And the other to develop a strong nationalist group in Argentina which would operate against the Americans and the British. It was these forces which, in the main, brought about the June 4th coup and it is the same forces, so carefully cultivated and developed, which are now guiding the *Casa Rosada* B. A.'s pink White

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House, and spreading through the rest of the Americas.

The desire for power and the hatred of the British and Americans which motivate many Army officials in Argentina and the other Latin republics means that the rapidly approaching downfall of Hitler and Tojo will have little direct effect on totalitarianism in Latin America. What the colonels have acquired from Berlin and Rome and Madrid is a system which fits in perfectly with their personal plan, a plan to which they have been bred without fully realizing its source and which they intend to continue for as long as they can hold the power.

That this imposition of a freedom-crushing, aggressive Fascist state also provides a basis for the Nazis to move into Latin America, develop a foothold in this hemisphere and get ready for their next try at world conquest is only of incidental concern to the Argentine colonels.

The Nazis have always wanted it that way and not without reason. When the war began, Argentina which had always lived from the sale of its meat and wheat to England and the Continent felt the war's sharp impact far more than did the U. S. Many of the rich, ultra-conservative cattle raising *estancia*-owners had a natural sympathy toward Britain. It was a latent sympathy however and the British fumbled, and we belatedly began attempts to develop it further. The Nazis who had been carrying on their propaganda activities a long time immediately began their Latin blitz—on the Argentine military and on the extremists among the Argentine youth. Both groups could be sold on the idea that they would have something personal to gain under the authoritarian, and something to lose under the democratic way. Artfully stimulated prejudices, nationalism and sovereignty were made the basis by which both the nationalists and white-haired, tight-lipped President Ramon S. Castillo long preserved Argentine neutrality. Neutrality as sold in Argentina, means independence of action for a proud, sensitive people. In operation it meant non-cooperation with the rest of the Americas and giving the Nazis full rein to carry on espionage, sabotage and fifth columning.

A Vocal Minority

IT was a device like Hitler's devices that won support in Argentina because its appeal was direct and practical. True, the support was that of a minority and never that of a party like the National Socialists or the Fascisti. But it was an active, vocal minority which had something personal to gain. And since majority sentiment was predominately the other way, Castillo early began the suppressions which eventually paved the way for the military to take over almost without a struggle. At the same time the vital corps of younger, ambitious Army officers were worked on. The United States was constantly pictured as arming Brazil for an attack on Argentina. Internal graft and dissension were fomented to their utmost to create public unrest—another Hitler technique. The advantages of Argentina's fence-sitting position were not hard to stress for in spite of everything Buenos Aires did to

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aid the Axis, the U. S. and Britain, although issuing detailed protesting memoranda, continued to buy and sell and trade, while Argentina grew richer and more prosperous through war.

Despite what most of the world thought in those first June days of 1943 it was obvious to some of us in Buenos Aires that throwing out Castillo was no move to break the Axis. Rather it was a fear that Castillo might "submit to Allied pressure." It was the Army's destiny to take over and rule that caused the colonels to move in. Those first days were full of airy promises and balcony delivered double-talk to the crowds in tree-lined *Plaza Mayo* in Buenos Aires and to the diplomatic representatives of the embassies. As in Germany, the most presentable representatives of the colonels' clique were pushed forward to protest and promise to make us believe that soon—"just give us the recognition first, please"—steps would be taken against the Axis. Democracy fading under Castillo would be restored, to be sure, and only graft—which of course had had no public supporters—would be eliminated before the country would be handed back to the people. I recall cabling long stories to my papers—through Montevideo—expressing the hope of realistic pro-democratic Argentines that no recognition would be granted on the basis of such promises. Pro-democratic Argentines apparently had no place in the judgment of Washington and London, however.

Then it began, step by step. First, as in the Reich, it was the press, already gagged by Castillo's State of Siege. Military censors moved into editors' chairs. They determined what could get into type and what must be put on the "dead hook." They stopped or ruthlessly blue-pencilled all outgoing cables. All this, of course, under the guise of maintaining neutrality and impartiality. The radio was next and with it the films. Then came the trade unions, the pro-democratic organizations and the political parties. The colonels clique—the notorious G. O. U. — which put the program into execution first fumbled. Then getting renewed strength from the failure of the U. S. and Britain to do anything they seemed almost to be working from a Spanish edition of "Mein Kampf." General Pedro P. Ramirez who was put in as President to wave the flag and attend the innumerable Federal affairs, rubber-stamped decrees with such rapidity that stories even circulated that no paper could be left on his desk more than a moment lest it be signed and made into an official statute.

Official intervention spread into even the tiniest details of personal life. Telephone lines were tapped, mail opened, businesses intervened or expropriated. All, as in Germany, in the interests of the State and for "the improvement of the people," who were not consulted. Even the slogans were similar to Der Fuehrer's. Everything was advertised as a drive against Communism—and that term became all inclusive for anything the jingoistic colonels didn't like. Church and State which, despite Argentina's strong Catholicism had always been kept well apart, were linked with religious instruction made compulsory. The most reactionary, Falangist-influenced churchmen served as behind-scenes mentors with the leading pro-Nazi Army officers.

The Critics Dismissed

ANYONE who dared oppose the regime was silenced. Taking an official designed-for-export announcement that freedom of speech had been restored seriously, a group of 150 of Argentina's most distinguished educators, scientists, doctors and lawyers put their names to a petition urging the colonels to reconsider their course. Every one was dismissed: And the last jam-packed lectures of some of the professors, men who had served for twenty-five years and brought world fame to Argentina, were as heart-rending as anything ever seen in the early book-burning days of the Reich. Labor leaders, teachers, civil service heads, all who could not be silenced by threats—and unfortunately too many could—were hustled off to Villa Devoto or down to concentration camps in remote Patagonia.

Argentina's break with the Axis changed none of this. When Ramirez and his Foreign Minister sought to implement the action, they were forced out. In Ramirez' place came square-jawed Edelmiro J. Farrell. The real power, however, remained in the hands of the colonels' *junta*, and especially those of Juan M. Peron whose list of

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jobs began to run as big as that of Goering's medals. There have been both major and minor changes in the cabinet since and more recently, under the sting of the bitterest White Paper denunciation our State Department has ever issued, other moves such as the supposed lifting of censorship and freeing of a certain few political prisoners designed to make the world believe that things aren't so bad in Argentina. Underneath however the terrorism and the plan to spread to the rest of the Americas gets stronger, not less.

I know the Argentine colonels, know what they want and how they have gone about getting it in Argentina and the countries south of the Rio Grande. Despite their ruthless suppression of democracy in their own country, their interference in Bolivia, in Paraguay and now most emphatically in Chile, despite their open aid to the Nazis, so bitterly denounced by Washington, they have to date succeeded in getting away with it because of the tolerance and the seemingly unable-to-move position of Argentina's biggest customers, Britain and the United States. Again and again we have issued notes, have cited facts and published warnings—but have failed to follow them up. We have talked economic sanctions and even tried to apply them in some small ways. Each time, however, we have withdrawn just when we should have advanced.

While not so long ago there was much controversy over whether anything ought to be done about Argentina, today that phase of the issue is no longer in debate. Argentina's vast rearmament program, begun after we rightly refused to sell lend-lease weapons which Argentina wanted to buy for her own non-hemispheric defense purposes, is no longer a petty growth. It is a full grown threat to Argentina's smaller, weaker neighbors and a potential time bomb certain to explode in the direction of Brazil and eventually of the U. S.

The activities of the Nazis in Argentina are not merely espionage through the open gateway of Buenos Aires. We have pretty well succeeded in neutralizing the operations carried on against us in the purely military sense. What the Nazis have filtered into Argentina via Spain and what Argentina has allowed to spread to the rest of Latin America is far more dangerous. For under the *pampa* soil the Nazis have buried the seeds of the next war.

There are those who have argued against sanctions for Argentina as interference in internal affairs. I disagree—and so do many of those pro-democratic Argentines still able to voice their opinions. The Argentine military regime came into power through outside influence. Cutting ourselves off from Argentina—refusing to buy her meat and wheat and forgetting business and refusing to sell our products to her—is not interference, it is merely refusing to subsidize Fascism as we subsidized it in Spain and elsewhere.

Once we close the gates, the pinch will come in prosperous Argentina. The rich *estancieros* today may not like the military, but they tolerate them because they can continue to sell and profit. The middle-class —and Argentina is one of the few Latin countries that has one — objects, but its leaders have been bound and gagged and it has not suffered enough physically to rise up and do something drastic. Meanwhile the colonels win more and more Argentines to their way of thinking by an all-inclusive,

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Goebbels-patterned drive to make the people believe the U. S. A. is trying to crush and intimidate them, to rule them or to break them.

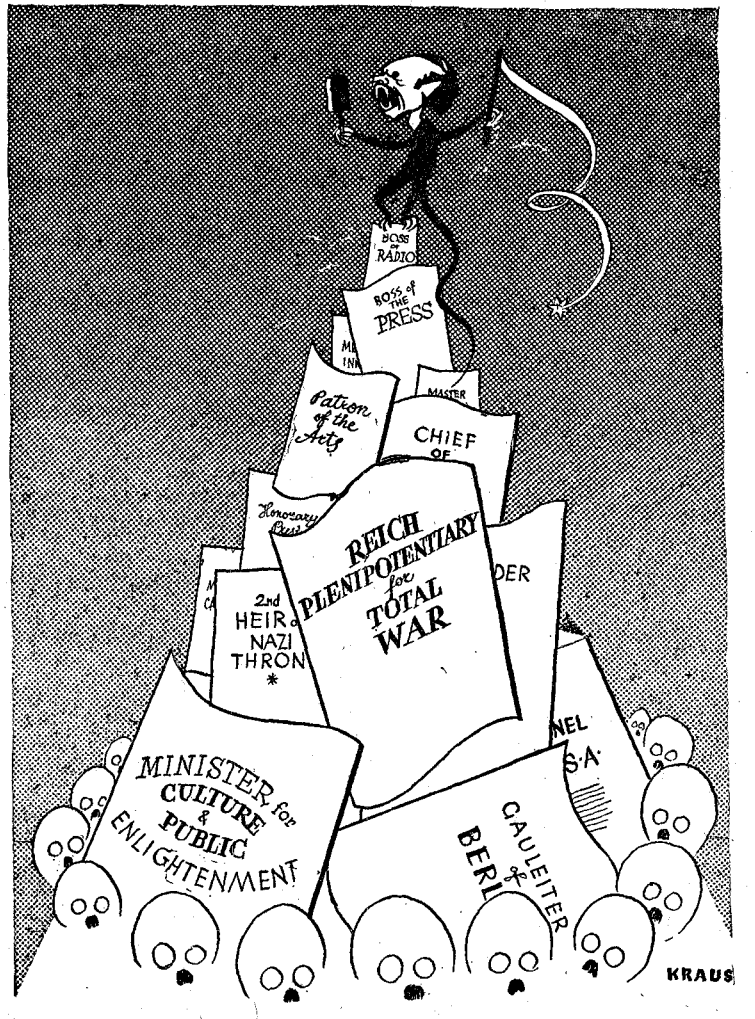
We are getting less popular day by day in Argentina. Elsewhere in Latin America the same thing is happening. Chileans and Bolivians and Ecuadorians seeing that Argentina has profited from her defiance of the U. S.—while they have suffered through cooperation—are realistically asking if they have been the suckers for *Tio Sam*. We are being blamed for imposing sanctions on Argentina anyway, even though we haven't imposed them . . . And the longer we leave the issue unsolved, the more difficult and dangerous it will be to solve tomorrow.

Recently I talked to a number of high officials in Washington, trying to find out what might be done here and in London. I found essential agreement and understanding of the danger of the issue—but an excuse and an explanation.

"If we cut ourselves off from Argentina," they said, "the Allied High Command rightly insists that some way must be found to supply England, and our own troops in England, with the meat and wheat they are now getting from Argentina. That meat must come from the American public. If the American public is sufficiently aroused and sufficiently willing to pull in its own belt, we can take a definite course, cut ourselves off from Argentina so that the Argentines themselves can do what's necessary, and not have to back down."

I have only been back in the U. S. for a short time. But what I have seen and heard and read convinces me the American people are not merely ready, but ahead of officialdom in wanting to do something to check the Fascist octopus now spreading in our own hemisphere.

It is not the first time that the American people have been more alive to such issues than their leaders.



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BOOKS

The World Has Neighborhoods

U. S. WAR AIMS, by Walter Lippmann. Little, Brown. 235 pages. $1.50

WHEN Orson Welles sawed through Rita Hayworth at the Hollywood Canteen, the G. I.'s whistled their admiration; some children, their noses pressed against the pane, thought the beautiful Rita was irrevocably severed, so masterly was the magic. Thus it is with Lippmann's latest analysis. As several reviewers have already fully explained, he breaks up the world into an Atlantic Community (which his previous book explored); a Russian Orbit (which is a chief emphasis of this book); a Chinese Area and others which are emerging in other sections of the world. "It is the old Willkie in you," shouts the magician, "which makes you think the world is one. But lo, I have shown it to you in pieces." And we applaud the illusion so skilfully wrought.

The skill resides in exhibiting the natural affinities, political and geographic, which include England, Western Europe and the American Continent in a single Atlantic Community; which produce a separate Russian Orbit grounded in what I suppose may come to be known as the Molotov Doctrine in Eastern Europe; and which make Chinese independence and influence essential in the Far East (which I suggest might better be called the Near West from our viewpoint). The inevitability of these power developments could scarcely be better presented. The net effect of the analysis is illusory, however, for two reasons. Lippmann assumes that because these centers of gravitation exist, an *international* organization to maintain world peace is unrealistic and unworkable. He also assumes that, having blocked out these communities each dominated by a great power, he has sufficiently demonstrated that each of the powers will guarantee peace in its own area and that the areas will not come into conflict. Neither of these assumptions withstands critical examination.

In trying to show that world-wide organization is inept, he flails a straw man dubbed a "Wilsonian." This strange phantom of Lippmann's imagination does not know that the world has neighborhoods. He has not heard of Russia's nonexclusive alliance with Czechoslovakia. He would just as soon as not send American boys to quell every minor disturbance in the Near East. He thinks the Monroe Doctrine is a myth. He is an "internationalist," pure and especially simple. What is the fact, however? The fact is that no responsible present-day follower of Wilson has failed to take account of regional groupings, alliances, or potential federations. Such regional organization is acknowledged and welcomed in the Eleven Fundamentals of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, under Shotwell's chairmanship; in the "International Law of the Future," under Hudson's; and elaborately in Sumner Welles' recent proposals.

Wilson himself may have been opposed to regional alliances, but I know of no leading contemporary Wilsonian who is. Wilsonians take just as much account of the world's tough realities, its power constellations and geographic accidents, as does any vaunted super-realist who denies the integration of world interests in maintaining peace. Indeed, does not Mr. Lippmann lack realism in failing to note the role of science and industry in reducing the world to a sixty-hour air suburb, highly interdependent, with no region immune from future robot weapon attack except through collaborative maintenance of world-wide order? In any given region of conflict, the powers in that area could and would act first to restore peace. But they would act always, as it is now contemplated, within the framework of a "general international organization," in the name of the whole community of nations, and with their support marshalled in the background.

Certainly Clemenceau was "right," as Lippmann says, in insisting that Germany be drastically dealt with and that France's security be assured through police arrangements going beyond the League's assurances. And Wilson was "wrong" in easing up on Germany and advocating Allied disarmament, but he was not wrong in believing that joint maintenance of security is desirable. No present-day Wilsonian, reaffirming Wilson's central insight, repeats Wilson's error. Nor does any present-day Wilsonian think that peace can be maintained by a debating society of seventy nations each with an equal vote. No serious proposal, neither the

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Only a handful of men in the world have had access to the facts on which this book is based

THE TIME *for* DECISION

by Sumner Welles

U. S. Under Secretary of State: 1937-1943

THE outcome of twenty-five years' active leadership in world affairs, THE TIME FOR DECISION is a first-person record of the men and events that have shaped world history since 1918—set down by one of the few people in the world who is qualified to appraise them. Sumner Welles reviews frankly the failures and achievements of those years, surveys the problems that must be solved in Europe, Latin America, Asia and at home, and, with the full force of his knowledge, insight and deep personal conviction, presents a detailed, workable pattern for establishing the machinery of international cooperation.

"AMONG the many documents in this controversy, [about America's role in world organization] THE TIME FOR DECISION is the most expert and the best informed . . . eloquent and often brilliant, a book of great importance, great scope and lively interest to every American who can see beyond his own front yard."—HENRY SEIDEL CANBY.

No part of this book has appeared in Mr. Welles' speeches or his newspaper columns.

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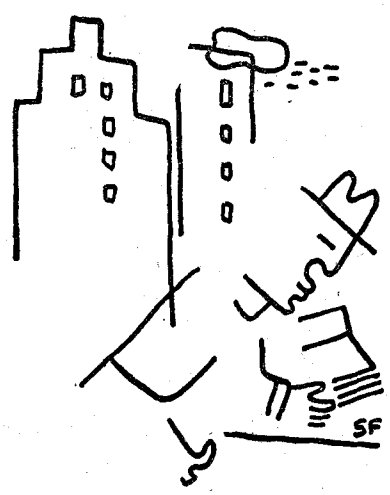
President's "peace plan," nor any other, fails to contemplate, alongside the general assembly of nations, an executive council in which the great powers necessarily predominate and shoulder major responsibility.

Does Mr. Lippmann think that at this late hour he can set himself against the world currents which have been swirling since the Moscow Conference? Does he think he can redirect the shaping of the postwar world by crying out against plans for universal organization and exhibiting his own local constellations? You cannot so easily write off the cumulative striving of the peoples of the world for a conjoint attack on the scourge of war. Nor is Lippmann entitled to suppose, now that he has delineated a half-dozen loose world "communities," that they in fact and in law exist as communities. He does not indicate how they are to be erected in any formal or operative sense. If France should "secede" from the "Atlantic Community," for example, and try to join the "Russian Orbit," Lippmann would regard it as a threat to peace with which we would have to deal. Yes, but would we so regard it? Would England? How would we deal with it? And how would the Soviet Union react? These are vital questions left unanswered. Unanswered too is the crucial question of the relationship of the Atlantic Community to the Russian Orbit. If the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are indeed the two great world dynamos of power, as far from each others' bases as could be, as little likely to wage war against each other, why should their orbits not be united, together with the other key areas, under one sky? What is against it? And is not the failure to so unite the international community, now so shrunken in size, an invitation to rivalry, a patient chuckle for Mars?

BERYL HAROLD LEVY.



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Progress in China

CHINA LOOKS FORWARD, by Sun Fo. John Day. 276 pages. $3.00

SUN FO, President of the Legislative Yuan of the Chinese government and son of Sun Yat-sen, is known in this country as a leader of the liberal wing of the Kuomintang, China's official political party. He has been in the forefront of the movement for a constitutional regime and has shown himself a close student of Western political and economic thought. Earlier this year his name appeared in the American press when he voiced some extremely sharp criticisms of the lack of political democracy in Chungking. These statements, together with various other speeches and articles written during the past four years, make up the present book.

The first aspect of Sun Fo's views that strikes the reader is his deep admiration for the Soviet Union—an admiration which antedates the victories of the Russians in the war with Germany. As far back as March 1940 he identified Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles (national independence, political democracy and economic welfare) with the policies of the U.S.S.R. and expressed the conviction that his father's program had been "first brought to fruition by our great neighbor." Since the Three People's Principles constitute the heart of the Kuomintang's political philosophy, it would be difficult to think of any higher compliment Sun Fo could have paid the Russians.

On the other hand, while criticizing the United States and Britain for their inability to solve their unemployment problems in the prewar period and while expressing a strong dislike for British colonial policy, he emphasizes the need for cooperation between China and the Atlantic powers. At the same time that he stresses China's growing influence in world affairs and the need for self-confidence on the part of his countrymen, he is an outspoken advocate of a sane Chinese nationalism. His thought on international questions is based on the concept of continuing United Nations unity.

The second feature of this book that seems particularly significant is the author's emphasis on the large role to be played by the state in China's economic development. He is firmly convinced of the importance of state ownership of heavy industry, with light industry as the sphere of private capital. This combination, he believes, will enable China to "draw the best from both capitalism and socialism" and undergo a rapid, planned modernization. His views on these problems are in agreement with the main trends of economic philosophy in Chungking today. The result is to strengthen the impression that Americans must expect to see in postwar China a considerably greater degree of government participation in economic life than is likely to be the case in the United States.

But the most important aspect of these essays and speeches is the criticism they contain of current Chinese conditions. In April of this year, for example, Sun Fo declared bluntly that "village government is now and has been for a long time the private preserve of the corrupt gentry and rapacious landowners." He drew the conclusion that "these corrupt oppressors of our people must be deprived of their power if a truly democratic government is to be built up in this country." In the same address he attacked the "heel-clicking, thought-befuddling method of training our youth" and expressed the opinion that "the talk about our people's inexperience for self-government is sickening."

These highly critical comments reflect the growth of foreign disapproval of some aspects of China's present policies as well as the increasing seriousness of China's internal economic and political position. Certain features of the current Chinese scene are dealt with inadequately by the author—for example, the crucial problem of Kuomintang-Communist relations—but he recognizes clearly two cardinal facts: that the realization of local self-government in wartime is a primary element in developing a democratic China, and that if China's allies should be convinced that Chungking is committed to undemocratic policies China might find itself isolated after the war.

Many interesting aspects of this book cannot be touched upon here. Perhaps it will be enough in closing to answer the question asked by the author at the beginning of the volume. Describing his doubts when it was first suggested that these statements of his be translated into English, he says he wondered: "Would Western readers be interested in what I have to say to my own people?" The reply is emphatically, "Yes." For the careful reader will find Sun Fo an instructive guide in understanding China after seven years of war.

LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER

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A National Leader

CHIANG KAI-SHEK: ASIA'S MAN OF DESTINY, by H. H. Chang. Doubleday, Doran. 347 pages. $3.50

WITH an urgent historic sense and a command of forceful English possessed by few born to the language, H. H. Chang, educator and diplomat, has written a volume dual in purpose. It centers about the life of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, but it also includes a short history of modern China. Still another important aspect is the author's personal view of his country and international affairs. All these things are dealt with from a purely Chinese point of view, which has the result of causing certain softenings and suppressions but which also gives the Western reader some new and sometimes refreshing attitudes on history.

It should be admitted at the outset that particularly with regard to the Generalissimo, Mr. Chang is uncritical. A hero is portrayed, with tact and discretion, it is true, but a man not quite the flesh and blood that might be expected from Mr. Chang's semi-fictional technique borrowed from and candidly credited to Lytton Strachey. There are omissions occasionally, and more frequently a discreet short-cutting past points which might cause annoyance in high circles or a disillusioned reaction from readers not intimately familiar with things Chinese. So much realized, there is definite advantage in the fact that Mr. Chang is Chinese and something of a poet besides.

None but a Chinese could so skilfully paint the geography and folkways of the Generalissimo's native Chikow, where he acquired "the roots of his life." Not alone is there significance in Chikow's ageless and serene mountains with their waterfalls, cascades and luxuriant bamboos, the traffic-filled sea nearby, the folk straightforward and definite of speech, and the pungent food. Chinese who say "Never forget the roots from which you spring" also bear in mind the Chiang family's old ceremonial hall, which Mr. Chang terms "visible symbol of the national leader's devotion and filial love for his ancestors." And it is noteworthy that Chikow of today is no longer an old-time Chinese village but now a place of well-paved clean streets and modern schools. The Generalissimo keeps his roots deep but works at the top-soil too, in his native place as for the nation.

Although some of Chiang's boyhood is dealt with in broad strokes suggestive of the Strachey manner, for the most part Mr. Chang sticks to known authority and the essence of the facts. He paints the growth of an orthodox Chinese subjected to revolutionary influence yet never swept off his feet by youthful extremism. Loyalty in the Chinese tradition frequently comes into the story, and there is interesting attention paid to the lifelong influence of a man killed as far back as 1915. Chen Chi-mei, for years Chiang's revolutionary leader, is ranked next to Sun Yat-sen by Mr. Chang. He was the uncle of the "Chen brothers" Li-fu and Ko-fu, whose importance in Chungking today transcends in many eyes their adherence to the original revolutionary principles.

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The author believes that as the story of Chiang is traced, as his responsibilities grow, "we find him reverting more and more to the type of the great Chinese rulers." This, oddly it would appear at first glance, is mentioned in connection with his attitude toward the Chinese Communists—whom he once fought but later brought into the United Front for resistance to Japan. Analyzed, there is no anomaly. Chiang has sought to deal with main things first. Repeatedly he has stated such inner weaknesses as evasion of responsibility, indifference and lack of courage, and Mr. Chang quotes him as concluding that it was error to concentrate on military conquest of the Communists with subsequent political reforms when the first thing needed was "radical reform in our own hearts." Few see so clearly.

The author is sketchy on such vital points as Chiang's connections with the secret Chinese societies although there is one brief mention of the 1927 Shanghai occupation that he "went ahead, with the cooperation of Shanghai's secret societies, to suppress all Communist activities in the city and to dissolve the labor unions." Tai Li, decidedly a potent secret-police force in China today, is never mentioned. There should be some elucidation, brief but frank, and it should be from a Chinese. But Chungking is sensitive on such points.

Chiang's experience in Japan, Mr. Chang makes clear, did not make him pro-Japanese but merely helped him understand the Japanese well—so that "knowing what their national policy consisted of, he was under no illusions." Unity in his own country had been won and now there must be a life-and-death struggle. During the period of preparation he could show a patience widely misunderstood as weakness or age. But when the time came he showed staunchness to lead in a war still not ended after more than seven years, yet now pointed clearly toward victory.

Mr. Chang has a well-balanced outlook toward the future although he is impatient with secessionism or whatever else menaces continued national unity. China's government today, he remarks, "is frankly a one-party affair, but that does not mean that it is totalitarian.... The Kuomintang has committed itself to a democratic platform. . . . It does not claim to play a permanent role; it is in theory and must also be in practice merely a custodian of the people's power. . . ." And Chiang himself, the author insists, is no dictator but a man whose personal prestige transcends all his titles and posts.

There are many references to a volume attributed to Chiang but never published in English translation, "China's Destinies." This book appears to put Chiang in a position of blaming upon the foreign treaties many ills to which China must have been in some degree subject under any circumstances, as a feudal country struggling toward modernity and especially going through the early throes of industrialism. Mr. Chang seems to feel, however, that Chiang and China are grateful to President Roosevelt, who called repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Acts the removal of "a historical mistake," though as to the British—"if only the British leaders could express themselves in a similar way on the subject of Hong Kong!" The British, Mr. Chang says (and, he might add, others as well) will learn that "the present war is the end of an era." Mr. Chang finds such events as the Cairo Conference heartening, as indicative that China's role in the time to come will befit her natural deserts.

RANDALL GOULD

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Germany's Past, Present and Future

GERMANY, A SHORT HISTORY, by George N. Shuster and Arnold Bergstraesser. W. W. Norton. 228 pages. $2.75

AT a time when the collapse of Nazi Germany has become a matter of months or even weeks and when preparations for a future Germany seem appropriate, some former officials or semi-officials of the Weimar Republic are hastily coming to the fore and again are trying to sell to the world their own peculiar brand of democracy.

At times they find encouragement and even assistance from American citizens who either do not seem to understand German politics or who may have a special partisan interest in certain developments. But whatever the hidden motives of the former Weimar bigshots and their friends may be, the effect of their present campaign can only be disastrous to the cause of Germany. If the world should fall for their arguments, then the case of a future democratic Germany is really hopeless.

For what many of these bankrupt Weimar dignitaries write and preach today is Pan-Germanism in its most despicable form. Despicable because the authors present themselves in a democratic and liberal garb, pretending to be objective and truly historical, whereas in reality they are mainly interested in whitewashing themselves and their like, and in putting the blame on others. This is an ugly and even dangerous business.

A glaring example of misleading the world about Germany's past, present and future is a book called "Germany, a Short History," by George N. Shuster and Arnold Bergstraesser. The latter, formerly a professor at Heidelberg, had some unpleasant experiences in the United States because some of his colleagues pointed out—rightly enough—that this self-styled democrat tried to play along with the Nazis as long as the Nazis played along with him.

As a matter of fact, Bergstraesser is not a Nazi and he never was, but what he thought and taught was nothing but thinly veiled nationalistic stuff which induced his students to draw the logical conclusion and to go over to Hitler. To have been responsible for the growth of chauvinism and general confusion, thus paving the way for the Nazis and the second World War—this is the accomplishment of Bergstraesser and of quite a few other German officials and intellectuals who today teach at American institutions and offer themselves as future rulers and educators of Germany. Mr. George N. Shuster, President of Hunter College seems fully to subscribe to the theory and practice of the former leaders of the German Social Democratic Party and the Catholic Centre Party—the two big parties which founded, represented and destroyed the Weimar Republic.

Since most apologists of Weimar, for personal reasons, cannot reveal that a treacherous, cowardly or even utterly incapable leadership wrecked pre-Hitler Germany, they have to resort to the old device of *"Haltet den Dieb!"* The book of Shuster and Bergstraesser, therefore, tries to put the blame for the downfall of democratic Germany on everyone but those who were primarily responsible for it. This historical distortion leads to innumerable other distortions, twists, falsifications and omissions in the history of Germany, especially as regards the last three decades.

To the authors, the German Army of the first World War was "disciplined and to a surprising degree highminded" and committed no atrocities at all. The few courageous German revolutionaries of 1918, who seriously tried to rid their country of militarism, are called "curious fanatics" behind whom, of course, were "Russian agents." And the authors insult the German people by saying that in 1918 "few really wanted a revolution." The truth is that the masses in Germany did want a revolution and radical changes but were betrayed by their leaders who, in this book, are therefore praised as heroes, true democrats and realists.

Other examples: the reactionary People's Party, founded and subsidized by Germany's industrial overlords, is graciously presented as "liberal." It is by now an established fact that responsible German officials, together with many influential industrialists, did everything to accelerate and to aggravate the inflation of 1923. The authors, who should know better, say: ". . . there is no reason to assume that efforts were made to sabotage the currency." The Cuno cabinet of 1923, which was openly reactionary and whose disastrous policies had a lasting effect on Germany, is called a "more

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conservative businessman's government." The famous putsch of the *Schwarze Reichswehr* in 1923 (a military organization secretly built up by the Reichswehr with the knowledge of prominent Centre Party and Social Democratic leaders) is referred to as a putsch staged by a (incidentally non-existent) Fredericus Rex movement." Consequently, Hindenburg is characterized as a "conservative Prussian soldier."

The secret rearmament of the Reichswehr sponsored by people like Ebert, Gessler and Bruening is ridiculed whenever mentioned at all, and finally dismissed with the priceless excuse ". . . the disadvantage of being unarmed in a world which, except for the Anglo-Saxon countries, was maintaining huge armaments, was evident." At the same time the chauvinistic and fascist activities of the great majority of Germany's industrial leaders are greatly minimized or presented to make the American reader conclude that there are no better or more honest men in the world than the bigshots of the I. G. Farben or the German Steel Trust.

Heinrich Bruening, former Reich Chancellor and today professor at Harvard, seems to be a particular favorite of the two authors. This is no accident, for Bruening, whose relations with the Vatican are excellent and who has always been an avowed friend of the German Army is regarded as the potential "savior" of Germany by those who share Shuster's and Bergstraesser's opinions. In their book they say of that anti-liberal par excellence that "if he had remained in office six months longer the German crisis would have been surmounted." In reality, Bruening was the chancellor who took almost everything away from the little man in order to spend it for the Reichswehr and the Junkers.

The treatment of Nazism by the authors is in some instances no less significant. Murderers and outright criminals like Roehm or Gregor Strasser are called "sincere revolutionists." And one of Hitler's greatest crimes, when he came to power, is described as follows: ". . . the Reichstag building was mysteriously set on fire and a strange 'agent of Moscow' named van der Lubbe was caught brandishing a torch. These incidents . . . thoroughly alarmed millions of German voters." That is all the authors have to say about this historic fire which quite unmysteriously was caused by the Nazis themselves.

One can safely predict that Shuster's and Bergstraesser's History of Germany will be heartily welcomed by Lord Vansittart as further evidence against the existence of "good Germans."

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A Check List of Forthcoming Books

NAVIES IN EXILE, by A. D. Divine, D.S.M. Dutton. Stories revealing the part the exiled navies of Poland, Norway, Holland, France, Yugoslavia, Belgium, Denmark and Greece have played in this war and how by refusing to accept defeat they have become an integral part of the Allied war machine.

INTERNATIONAL AIR TRANSPORT, by Brigadier-General Sir Osborne Mance, assisted by J. E. Wheeler, Oxford University Press. A study aimed at presenting the international problems of air transport as well as those of political and commercial competition. The authors discuss matters for which international regulations should be worked out: aircraft safety, skilled crews, radio, meteorology, airdromes, fuel, traffic rules, customs regulations and transport law.

ARGENTINE RIDDLE, by Felix J. Weil, John Day. Dr. Weil, a native of Argentina, endeavors to untangle the Argentine riddle, the key to which he believes to be industrialization. He presents an analysis of the country's social and economic structure and gives his outline of Argentina's probable future.

VERDICT ON INDIA, by Beverley Nichols. Harcourt, Brace. An appraisal of India. Beverley Nichols considers among others such problems as the diversified religious and ethnic elements, the "untouchables," the conflicts of culture, the relationship between the British and the natives.

COMBAT CORRESPONDENT, by Lt. Jim Lucas, Reynal & Hitchcock. One of the first of the Marine combat correspondents covers the Marine campaign from Guadalcanal to Tarawa; reports on life and death aboard the battlewagons and transports, and in our island base camps.

JOURNEY THROUGH CHAOS, by Agnes E. Meyer. Harcourt, Brace. After visiting twenty-six war centers in 1943-44 Mrs. Eugene Meyer writes of the effect our all-out war effort has had upon the physical and moral life of the home population, on the migratory industrial army of twenty million people. Her book offers suggestions as to what can be done toward a nation-wide awakening of our responsibility for the health and guidance of these workers.

THE MAKING OF MODERN HOLLAND, by Adriaan J. Barnouw. W. W. Norton. A short history of Holland. The author evaluates the role this country has played in world history, stressing the fact that owing to the nature of its people and to its geographical position it has made a worthy contribution to the civilization of Europe and the world.

BOHUSLAV MARTINU, The Man and His Music, by Milos Safranek. Alfred A. Knopf. A biography of the contemporary Czechoslovak composer. The book describes the struggle now confronting the contemporary artist—that of integrating his creative ability to meet the problems of today.

MEN OF SCIENCE IN AMERICA, by *Bernard Jaffe. Simon and Schuster.* The story of American scientific achievements in terms of twenty outstanding scientists, from Thomas Harriot in the 16th century, through Franklin and Thompson in the 18th, Gibbs and Agassiz in the 19th, and on to the Nobel Prize winners of our own day.

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United Nations of the World

THE GREAT DECISION, by James T. Shotwell. Macmillan. 268 pages. $3.00

THIS is a book not lightly to be dismissed as merely another blueprint of the world to be. The author himself needs no introduction. Dr. Shotwell is no "closet philosopher": for the last twenty-five years, as an observer or an active member he has participated in many international conferences; as Director of the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Conciliation he has gone into the social and economic background of the first World War and dealt constantly with the problem of peace.

The first part is both historical and expository. The author points out the obvious, although never too often emphasized consequences of total war and particularly the imperious necessity of localizing this scourge in the future. The experience of the last twenty-five years amply demonstrates that, in the closely interrelated and interdependent world in which we live, any war is apt to become a total war, involving the entire population of the belligerent nations; and even drawing into its maelstrom distant and apparently isolated countries. This new aspect of war adds to the old problems a new set of highly dangerous and sometimes unforeseeable threats graphically compared by the author to the unexplored time-bombs left in the tracks of retreating armies. We may only hope that some of these time-bombs will not ultimately destroy the best conceived peace plans. It is interesting to note that among the dangers which cannot yet be evaluated or anticipated are the attitude of Russia and the place which France will occupy in the world of tomorrow.

Although reluctant to join in a wholesale condemnation of the old League, the author is willing to start anew from the very loose and still almost amorphous attempts by the United Nations at cooperation in matters of relief, monetary control and treatment of war criminals. Although these are very timid and uncertain beginnings, they are nevertheless sufficient to distinguish clearly the future world organization from the League.

In fact, the nations of the world, whether united or not, are faced with the task of solving three distinct problems, of undertaking three separate jobs, each one of which must be met with different methods. For the problem of security, Dr. Shotwell finds the beginning of a solution in the Moscow Declaration. It is a problem which involves power and for the present at least rests in the hands of the Big Four along with such others as become available and qualified. To the problem of justice, the author can find no better solution than a return to the old World Court, as interpreter of treaties and of accepted rules of international law. And finally, the problem of livelihood, evidently implies matters of domestic organization and for some time to come had best be dealt with through conferences and semi-official organizations such as the I.L.O. and the conference now going on at Bretton Woods.

Such a situation, however, can only be temporary; sooner or later these efforts will have to be coordinated by a central political organization. But at this point we are confronted with the old set of problems of prestige and political interests of nations involved, which the old League was unable to solve satisfactorily. Whether the new organization, for which the name of the "United Nations of the World" is proposed, will be more successful depends to a large extent on the active participation of the United States.

Isolationist tendencies are perhaps even stronger than indicated by Dr. Shotwell, although the progressive development of new weapons makes it more and more obvious that no nation in the future will be secure against a sudden aggression. In dealing with this domestic and all important problem in his conclusion the author points out that one of the favorite isolationist arguments, namely that the United States cannot sacrifice national sovereignty, is groundless and quotes to that effect the recent study of Professor Corwin on "The Constitution and World Organization." Professor Corwin sums up with the terse formula, at the same time judicial and practical: "When *Total War is the price of Total Sovereignty*, the price is too high."

This sketchy analysis fails to do justice to the wealth of information contained in this little book. In many cases the problems are outlined and defined and no solution is offered when no solution can be found or envisaged at the present time.

On the other hand the student of international relations will find in it, presented in a restrained and judicious way, "sobering thoughts" without cynicism, a clear, concise and humane presentation of problems which will never be solved if they are left to specialists and if they are not fully apprehended and understood by the rank and file of the citizens.

GILBERT CHINARD

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WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

Because we view freedom of information as vital to the postwar world *FREE WORLD* is publishing a series of articles written by men who, in virtue of their broad background, can speak on the subject with authority. In the August issue, James Lawrence Fly opened the discussion with an article presenting the practical means of obtaining a free flow of news around the world.

In this issue we offer three important contributions to this series. *SUMNER WELLES*, former Under Secretary of State, who a year ago advanced the suggestion that as one condition for joining the future international organization, a nation should be obliged to show that its citizens were guaranteed freedom of information, now urges an international agreement to insure that all peoples have free access to news.

The other two articles are written by men who head two of the world's greatest news-gathering agencies: *CHRISTOPHER CHANCELLOR*, General Manager of Reuters in London since 1944 and *KENT COOPER*, Executive Director and General Manager of the Associated Press of America. *MR. CHANCELLOR* joined Reuters in 1939 and served in Shanghai as its General Manager for the Far East for nine years. In 1940 he became co-general manager of Reuters in London with W. J. Maloney, and in 1944 was nominated as the sole head of the agency.

KENT COOPER has been striving for freedom of information in the news agency field for thirty years. In 1919 he went to Versailles to try to bring about a complete opening up of international news channels in the peace settlements. He is the author of *Barriers Down*, a book which exposed the foreign news monopolies and their use by governments.

ULRIC BELL left his position as head of the Los Angeles office of the OWI Overseas Bureau to assume the post of Executive Director of the Hollywood Free World Association. Later, when the Free World Association along with other national groups banded together to form the Americans United for World Organization, he became executive director of AU.

More than a year ago *WALTER CERF*, a native of Germany, enlisted in the United States Army and is now serving overseas with our armed forces. His articles written in America have been published in the *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research Journal*, the *Philosophy of Science*, the *Journal of Higher Education* and the *Public Opinion Quarterly*.

A well-known authority on and biographer of Thomas Jefferson, *GILBERT CHINARD* is a member of the Princeton University faculty and one of the editors of Monde Libre, the French edition of *FREE WORLD*.

HERBERT COREY is an outstanding journalist and contributor to leading magazines and newspapers. A war correspondent in Europe in World War I, he has been a close student of military affairs, as well as of the political situations in Germany, Italy, France, England and Norway and other nations he knows so well both as observer and writer.

The noted Russian writer and war correspondent, *ILYA EHRENBOURG*, who is a winner of the Stalin Literary prize, displays a less known side of his talent in "Jo—A War Story"—the moving account of a dog's faithfulness and service to men at war.

JOHN GOETTE, the author of "Doomed Japan Exchanges Tojo for Koiso" was recently repatriated from Tokyo. He had spent twenty years in the Far East as correspondent for the International News Service and the Daily Express and after Pearl Harbor was taken prisoner by the Japanese. Since his return to the United States he has spent much of his time on the lecture platform and in writing his recently published book, *Japan Fights for Asia*.

From the years 1923 to 1940 *RANDALL GOULD* was in the Orient as correspondent for *Time*, the United Press and the *Christian Science Monitor*. He is American editor and president of the *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury* and associate editor of the Chungking edition.

ALBERTO GUANI, Vice-President of Uruguay, was representative of Uruguay at the League of Nations, in which body he held important posts.

When he left for Latin America *RAY JOSEPHS* was starting on what he believed to be a six weeks trip. But it was almost five years before he hastened from Buenos Aires—and then only a little ahead of the police. The government authorities were dissatisfied with some of his forthright dispatches sent to the United States newspapers as well as with what they had learned of his book, *Argentine Diary*. The book has since climbed into the best-seller lists.

BERYL HAROLD LEVY, author and attorney, has lectured extensively throughout the country on international affairs. He has long been concerned with minority and postwar problems and is a member of the Executive Committee of the Commission to Study the

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Organization of Peace, as well as counsel for that organization.

LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER is Far Eastern Research Associate for the Foreign Policy Association. Previous to this he was in the India Government Trade Commissioner's office in the United States.

KATHLEEN SUTTON is the author of *Masquerade* and *Through Many Doors,* the latter in collaboration with Joseph Joel Keith. Her poems and short stories have appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly, Poetry,* and the *Saturday Review of Literature.*

HOWARD THOMAS is responsible for launching the "Brains Trust," a radio program which rapidly won a vast listening public in England and throughout the world. He believes that the war has been responsible for making people want more intellectual entertainment, and that the lesson to be learned from this program's popularity has meaning for the United States as well.

In recent months we have published two other pieces by *JOHN F. WHARTON,* the author of "The U. S. A. Needs a Realistic Foreign Policy." In these—"Peace and a Sword" and "Necessary Assumptions for Internationalism"—he analyzed the part America should play in world organization. *MR. WHARTON* is a member of the New York Bar and former consultant to the United States Board of Economic Warfare. During his twenty-five years as a lawyer he has been particularly interested in the development of new enterprises, among them the technicolor three-color process and television. He is the author of *This Road to Recovery.*

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BASIL VLAVIANOS

Editor of the Greek National Herald, and Member of FREE WORLD'S International Editorial Board. Mr. Vlavianos clarifies the political situation in Greece, which has puzzled many observers.

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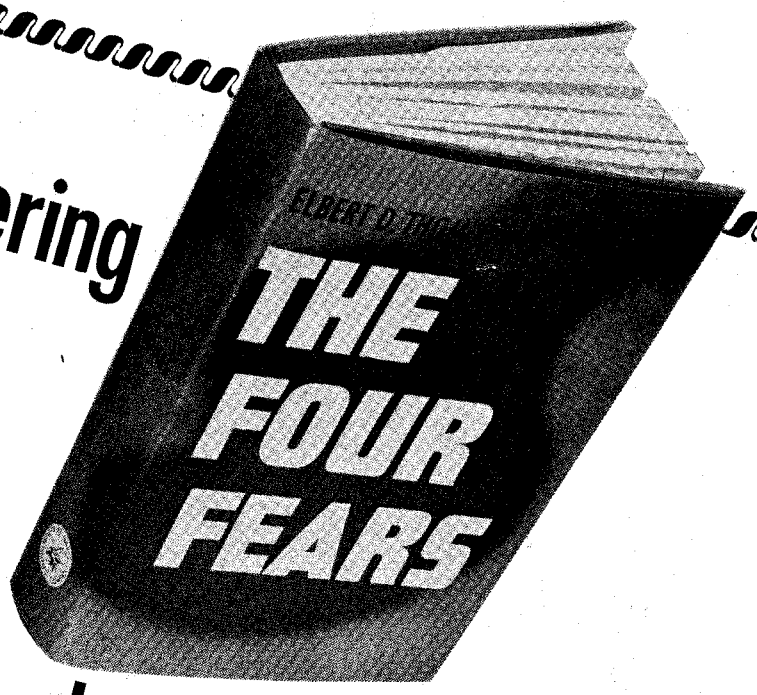

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Published Sept. 11

THE FOUR FEARS

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